

U T O P I A:

Containing an

IMPARTIAL HISTORY

OF THE

MANNERS, CUSTOMS, POLITY, GOVERNMENT, &c. of that Island.

Written in *Latin* by Sir THOMAS MORE,
Chancellor of *England*. And interspersed with
many important Articles of SECRET HISTORY,
relating to the State of the *British* Nation.

Translated into ENGLISH

By GILBERT BURNET, late Bishop of *Sarum*.

To this EDITION is added,

A short Account of Sir THOMAS MORE'S
LIFE and TRIAL: and a PRAYER made
by him while he was a Prisoner in the *Tower*.

The whole revis'd, corrected and greatly improv'd, by
THOMAS WILLIAMSON, Esq;

O X F O R D,

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U T O P I A

IMPERIAL

STATION

STATION



THE

THOMAS WILLIAMSON

O X F O R D



THE PREFACE.

THERE is no Way of writing so proper, for the refining and polishing a Language, as the translating of Books into it, if he that undertakes it has a competent Skill of the one Tongue, and is a Master of the other. When a Man writes his own Thoughts, the Heat of his Fan-

iv The *PREFACE*.

cy, and the Quickness of his Mind, carry him so much after the Notions themselves, that for the most Part he is too warm to judge of the Aptness of Words, and the Justness of Figures; so that he either neglects these too much, or over-does them: But when a Man translates, he has none of these Heats about him: And therefore the *French* took no ill Method, when they intended to reform and beautify their Language, in setting their best Writers on Work to translate the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors into it. There is so little Praise got by a Translation, that a Man cannot be engaged in it out of Vanity, for it has pass'd for a Sign of a slow Mind, that can amuse it self with so mean an Entertainment; but we begin to grow wiser, and though ordinary Translators must succeed ill in the Esteem of the World, yet some have appeared of late that will, I hope, bring

The PREFACE.

v

bring that Way of Writing in Credit. The *English* Language has wrought it self out, both of the fulsome Pedantry under which it laboured long ago, and the trifling Way of dark and unintelligible Wit that came after that, and out of the coarse Extravagance of Canting that succeeded this: But as one Extream commonly produces another, so we were beginning to fly into a sublime Pitch of a strong but false Rhetorick, which had much corrupted, not only the Stage, but even the Pulpit; two Places, that though they ought not to be named together, much less to resemble one another; yet it cannot be denied, but the Rule and Measure of Speech is generally taken from them: But that florid Strain is almost quite worn out, and is become now as ridiculous as it was once admired. So that without either the Expence or Labour that the *French*

have undergone, our Language has, like a rich Wine, wrought out its Tartar, and is insensibly brought to a Purity that could not have been compassed without much Labour, had it not been for the great Advantage that we have of a *Prince*, who is so great a Judge, that his single Approbation or Dislike has almost as great an Authority over our Language, as his Prerogative gives him over our Coin. We are now so much refined, that how defective soever our Imaginations or Reasonings may be, yet our Language has fewer Faults, and is more natural and proper, than it was ever at any Time before. When one compares the best Writers of the last Age, with those that excel in this, the Difference is very discernable: Even the great Sir *Francis Bacon*, that was the first that writ our Language correctly; as he is still our best Author, yet in some
Places.

The P R E F A C E. vii

Places has Figures so strong, that they could not pass now before a severe Judge. I will not provoke the present Masters of the Stage, by preferring the Authors of the last Age to them: For though they all acknowledge that they come far short of *Ben Johnson*, *Beaumont* and *Fletcher*, yet I believe they are better pleased to say this themselves, than to have it observed by others. Their Language is now certainly more proper, and more natural than it was formerly, chiefly since the Correction that was given it by the *Rehearsal*; and it is to be hoped, that the *Essay on Poetry*, which may be well matched with the best Pieces of its Kind that even *Augustus's* Age produced, will have a more powerful Operation, if clear Sense, joined with home but gentle Reproofs, can work more on our Writers, than that unmerciful exposing of them has done.

I have now much Leisure, and want Diversion, so I have bestowed some of my Hours upon Translations, in which I have proposed no ill Patterns to myself: But the Reader will be best able to judge whether I have copied skilfully after such Originals. This small Volume which I now publish, being writ by one of the greatest Men that this Island has produced, seemed to me to contain so many fine and well digested Notions, that I thought it might be no unkind nor ill Entertainment to the Nation, to put a Book in their Hands, to which they have so good a Title, and which has a very common Fate upon it, to be more known and admired all the World over, than here at Home. It was once translated into *English* not long after it was written; and I was once apt to think it might have been done by Sir *Thomas More* him-

The *PREFACE.* ix

himself: For as it is in the *English* of his Age, and not unlike his Style; so the Translator has taken a Liberty that seems too great for any but the Author himself, who is Master of his own Book, and so may leave out or alter his Original as he pleases: Which is more than a Translator ought to do, I am sure it is more than I have presumed to do.

It was writ in the Year 1516, as appears by the Date of the Letter of *Peter Giles*, in which he says, That it was sent him but a few Days before from the Author, and that bears Date the first of *November* that Year; but I cannot imagine how he comes to be called Sheriff of *London* in the Title of the Book, for in all our printed Catalogues of Sheriffs, his Name is not to be found. I do not think my self concerned in the matter of his Book,

x The *PREFACE*.

no more than any other Translator is in his Author: Nor do I think *More* himself went in heartily to that which is the chief Basis of his *Utopia*, the taking away of all *Property*, and the levelling the World; but that he only intended to set many Notions in his Reader's Way; and that he might not seem too much in earnest, he went so far out of all Roads to do it the less suspected: The Earnestness with which he recommends the Precaution used in Marriages among the *Utopians*, makes one think that he had a Misfortune in his own Choice, and that therefore he was so cautious on that Head; for the strictness of his own Life covers him from severe Censures: His setting out so barbarous a Practice, as the hiring of Assassins to take off Enemies, is so wild and so immoral both, that it does not admit of any thing to soften or excuse it, much less

less to justify it; and the advising Men in some Cases to put an end to their Lives, notwithstanding all the Caution with which he guards it, is a Piece of rough and fierce Philosophy. The tenderest Part of the whole Work, was the Representation he gives of *Henry* the seventh's Court, and his Discourses upon it, towards the End of the first Book; in which his Disguise is so thin, that the Matter would not have been much plainer if he had named him: But when he ventured to write so freely of the Father in the Son's Reign, and to give such an *Idea* of Government under the haughtiest Prince, and the most impatient of uneasy Restraints that ever reigned in *England*, who yet was so far from being displeased with him for it; that as he made him long his particular Friend, so he employed him in all his Affairs afterwards, and raised him

him to be Lord Chancellor, I thought I might venture to put it in more modern *English*: For as the Translators of *Plutarch's Heroes*, or of *Tully's Offices*, are not concerned, either in the Maxims, or in the Actions that they relate; so I, who only tell, in the best *English* I can, what Sir *Thomas More* writ in very elegant *Latin*, must leave his Thoughts and Notions to the Reader's Censure, and do think my self liable for nothing but the Fidelity of the Translation, and the Correctness of the *English*; and for that I can only say, that I have writ as carefully, and as well as I can.

G. BURNET.



THE



ACCOUNT

Sir THOMAS MORE'S

LIFE.

THOMAS MORE, Son of Sir
Jo. More, Knight, one of the
 Justices of the *King's-Bench*, was born
 in *Milk-street* in the City of *London*,
 in the Year of our Lord 1480, where
 he

xiv Sir THOMAS MORE's Life.

he was taught Grammar Learning in St. *Anthony's* School, and was afterwards received into the Family of Cardinal *John Moreton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, merely from the great Hopes that were conceived of him, from the Pregnancy of his Parts. About the Year 1497. that worthy Cardinal sent him to *Canterbury-College* (now taken into *Christ-Church*) *Oxford*, where, by the Assistance of *Lynacre*, his Tutor, he became a great Proficient in all Sorts of Learning, especially in the *Greek* Language, for he was a constant Hearer of *Grocynus*, who at that Time was public Lecturer of the *Greek* Tongue. From *Oxford* he removed to *New-Inn* in *London*, where continuing for a Time, according to the Manner of those that intended to make a Proficiency in the Knowledge of the Municipal Laws, he removed thence to *Lincoln's-Inn*, where he compleated his

his Studies, and was at length called to the Bar.

He was soon advanced to the Place of Judge in the Sheriff's Court, *London*, continuing his Practice at the same Time in the others. And tho' he only chose such Causes as appeared just to his Conscience, and never took Fees of Widow, Orphan, or poor Person, he gained an Estate of 400 *l. per Annum*; an Estate, which at that time was very considerable.

Being made a Member of the House of Commons, he opposed King *Henry* the Seventh's Proposal for the Marriage Portion of his Daughter *Margaret*; which the King resented so highly, that Sir *Thomas More* was resolved to go abroad, had not the Death of the King prevented it.

King *Henry* the Eight coming to the Crown, soon took Notice of him for his extraordinary Gifts of Nature, his
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xvi Sir THOMAS MORE's Life.

Learning, Wisdom and Experience :
And as a Mark of the Esteem he had
for him, he successively conferred on
him these Honours and Employments,
viz. the Mastership of the *Requests*,
the intrusting him in several *Embassies*,
the Honour of *Knighthood*, the Treasurership of the *Exchequer*, the Chancellorship of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, which was the King's personal Patrimony, the Embassage to the Emperor, and *French* King : And afterwards upon the Removal of Cardinal *Woolsey*, the Great Seal was delivered to Sir *Thomas*, on the 25th of *October*, 1530, and he was then declared Lord High-Chancellor of *England*; in which last Office, no Person ever before him behaved more uprightly, or more to the Satisfaction of the People. His Expedition in determining Causes was no less remarkable than his Integrity : For one Day when he called for the next Cause,

Cause, it was answered, there are no more to be heard; all Suits in that Court depending and ready for hearing being finally determined.

On which Occasion some Person at that Time made these Verses.

*When More some Years had Chancellor
No more Suits did remain; [been
The same shall never more be seen,
Till More be there again.*

The first Time that this great Man began to lose the Favour of the Court, was for not complying with the King in the Divorce of *Queen Catherine*, and therefore he resign'd his Chancellorship in time; for on the 16th of *May, 24 Henry VIII*, he delivered up the Great Seal to the King, at his Manor House called *York-Place* near *Westminster*, in the Presence of *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, which Seal, on the twentieth

twentieth Day following, was delivered by the King to Sir *Thomas Audley*, Knight.

After this Sir *Thomas* retired to his House at *Chelsea* near *London*, where continuing for some Time at his Studies, not without the most exact Devotion, he was at length committed Prisoner to the Tower of *London*, for not acknowledging the King's Supremacy over the Church of *England*: And after he had remained several Months close confined, was brought to his Trial at *Westminster-Hall*, where he was condemned to be hang'd, drawn and quarter'd. But that Sentence being mitigated by the King, he lost his Head on *Tower-hill*, *July* the 6th, 1535. See the Trial.

He was esteemed one of the greatest Prodigies of Wit and Learning, that *England* ever produced before his Time. He was also very meek, humble, chari-

charitable, and a Despiser of the Things of this World ; and nothing seemed to be wanting in him to make him a compleat Christian. His Parts were great and profound ; he had not his Equal in the Knowledge of Divinity, the Laws of his Country, the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages, Poetry and Mathematics. All which Endowments made him not only beloved of Kings and Nobles, but of all those who in his Time were the Lights of Learning, as *Erasmus*, *Colet*, *Tonstal* Bishop of *Durham*, *Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter*, *Grocyn*, *Lynacre*, *Lilye*, *Paice*, *Elyot*, *Lupſet*, *Leland*, &c. moſt of which, eſpecially foreign Writers, have celebrated his Memory in their reſpective Works, and all Men of Genius in his Time have a great Reſpect to his Name and Writings. He wrote a great many Things, a Catalogue of which may be ſeen in *Athenæ Oxonienses*, VOL. I.

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and among the Rest his *Latin* Book, intituled, *De Optimo Reipublicæ Statu, deque nova Insula* Utopia, &c. has been much admired. It contains the Idea of a compleat Common-wealth in an imaginary Island, pretended to be lately discovered in *America*, but so lively described, that many at Reading it, mistook it for a real Truth: Infomuch that several learned Men, as *Budæus*, and *Johannes Paludanus*, through a fervent Zeal for the Propagation of Christianity wished, that some excellent Divines might be sent there to preach the Gospel.





THE
AUTHOR'S EPISTLE
TO
PETER GILES.

I Am almost ashamed, my dearest *Peter Giles*, to send you this Book of the *Utopian Common-Wealth*, after almost a Year's Delay; when you no doubt look'd for it in six Weeks: For as you are sensible that I had no Occasion to make use of my Invention,

tion, or to take Pains to put Things into a Method, because I had nothing to do, but to repeat exactly what I heard *Raphael* relate in your Presence; so a studied Elegance of Expression would have been here unnecessary. Since as he delivered Things to us of the sudden, and in a careless Style; he being, you know, a greater Master of the *Greek*, than of the *Latin*; the plainer my Words are, they will the better resemble his Simplicity, and will consequently be nearer to the Truth. This is all that I think lies on me, and the only Thing in which I thought myself concerned: I confess that I had here very little left for me to do; for the Invention and Ordering of such a Scheme would have cost a Man, whose Capacity and Learning was of the ordinary Standard, some Pains and Time. But if it had been necessary, that this Relation should have been not only

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consistent with Truth, but expressed with Elegance, it could never have been performed by me, even after all the Pains and Time that I could have bestowed upon it. My Part in it was so very small, that it could not give me much Trouble, all that belonged to me being only to give a true and full Account of the Things that I had heard: But though this required so very little of my Time, yet even that little was long denied me by my other Affairs, which press much upon me: For while in pleading, and hearing, in judging or composing of Causes, in waiting on some Men upon Business, and on others out of Respect, the greatest Part of the Day is spent on other Men's Affairs, the Remainder of it must be given to my Family at Home: So that I can reserve no Part of it to myself, that is, to my Study: I must talk with my Wife, and chat with
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xxiv *The Author's* EPISTLE

my Children, and I have somewhat to say to my Servants: All these Things I reckon as a Part of Business, except a Man will resolve to be a Stranger at Home; for with whomsoever either Nature, Chance, or Choice has engaged a Man, in any Commerce, he must endeavour to make himself as acceptable to those about him, as he possibly can; using still such a Temper, that he may not spoil them by an excessive Gentleness, so that his Servants may not become his Masters. In such Things as these, Days, Months, and Years slip away; what is then left for Writing? And yet I have said nothing of that Time that must go for Sleep, or for Meat: In which many waste almost as much of their Time, as in Sleep, which consumes very near the Half of our Life; and indeed all the Time which I can gain to myself, is that which I steal from my Sleep and
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my Meals; and because that is not much, I have made but a slow Progress; yet as it is somewhat, I have at last got to an End of my *Utopia*, which I now send to you, and expect that after you have read it, you will let me know if you can put me in mind of any Thing that has escaped me; for tho' I would think myself very happy, if I had but as much Invention and Learning as I know I have Memory, which makes me generally depend much upon it, yet I do not rely so entirely on it, as to think I can forget nothing.

My Servant, *John Clement*, has started some Things that shake me: You know he was present with us, as I think he ought to be, at every Conversation that may be of use to him; for I promise myself great Matters from the Progress he has so early made in

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xxvi *The Author's EPISTLE*

the *Greek* and *Roman* Learning. As far as my Memory serves me, the Bridge over *Anider* at *Amaurot*, was, according to *Raphael's* Account, 500 Paces broad; but *John* assures me, he spoke only of 300 Paces; therefore, pray recollect what you can remember of this, for if you agree with him, I will believe that I have been mistaken; but if you remember nothing of it, I will not alter what I have written, because it is according to the best of my Remembrance: For as I will take care that there may be nothing falsely set down; so if there is any Thing doubtful, tho' I may perhaps tell a Lie, yet I am sure I will not make one; for I would rather pass for a good Man than for a wise one: But it will be easy to correct this Mistake, if you can either meet with *Raphael* himself, or know how to write to him.

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I have another Difficulty that presses me more, and makes your writing to him the more necessary: I know not whom I ought to blame for it, whether *Raphael*, you, or myself; for as we did not think of asking it, so neither did he of telling us, in what Part of the New World *Utopia* is situated; this was such an Omission that I would gladly redeem it at any Rate: I am ashamed, that after I have told so many Things concerning this Island, I cannot let my Readers know in what Sea it lies. There are some among us that have a mighty Desire to go thither, and in particular, one pious Divine is very earnest upon it, not so much out of a vain Curiosity of seeing unknown Countries, as that he may advance our Religion, which is so happily begun to be planted there; and that he may do this regularly, he intends to procure a Mission from the

xxviii *The Author's EPISTLE*

Pope, and to be sent thither as their Bishop. In such a Case as this, he makes no Scruple of aspiring to that Character, but thinks such Ambition meritorious, while actuated solely by a pious Zeal; he desires it only as the Means of advancing the Christian Religion, and not for any Honour or Advantage that may accrue to himself. Therefore I earnestly beg, that if you can possibly meet with *Raphael*, or if you know how to write to him, you will be pleased to inform yourself of these Things, that there may be no Falshood left in my Book, nor any important Truth wanting. And perhaps it will not be unfit to let him see the Book itself: For as no Man can correct any Errors that may be in it, so well as he; so by reading it, he will be able to give a more perfect Judgment of it, than he can do upon any Discourse concerning it; And you
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will be likewise able to discover whether this Undertaking of mine is acceptable to him or not; for if he intends to write a Relation of his Travels, perhaps he will not be pleased that I should prevent him, in that Part that belongs to the *Utopian* Commonwealth; since if I should do so, his Book will not surprize the World with the Pleasure which this new Discovery will give the Age. And I am so little fond of appearing in print upon this Occasion, that if he dislikes it, I will lay it aside; and even though he should approve of it, I am not positively determined as to the publishing it. Men's Tastes differ much; some are of so morose a Temper, so sour a Disposition, and make such absurd Judgments of Things, that Men of chearful and lively Tempers, who indulge their *Genius*, seem much more happy, than those who waste their Time and

xxx *The Author's EPISTLE*

Strength in order to publishing a Book, which tho' of itself it might be useful or pleasant, yet instead of being well received, will be sure to be either laughed at, or censured. Many know nothing of Learning, and others despise it: A Man that is accustomed to a coarse and harsh Style, thinks every thing is rough that is not barbarous. Our trifling Pretenders to Learning, think all is slight that is not dress'd up in Words that are worn out of use; some love only old Things, and many like nothing but what is their own. Some are so stout that they can allow no Jest, and others so dull that they can endure nothing that is sharp; while others are as much afraid of any thing gay and lively, as a Man bit with a mad Dog is of Water; others are so light and unsettled, that their Thoughts change as quick as they do their Postures: Some again, when they meet
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in Taverns, take upon them among their Cups to pass Censures very freely on all Writers; and, with a supercilious Liberty, to condemn every thing they do not like: In which they have an Advantage, like that of a bald Man, who can catch hold of another by the Hair, while the other cannot return the like upon him. They are safe as it were from Gun-shot, since there is nothing in them solid enough to be taken hold of. Others are so unthankful, that even when they are well pleased with a Book, yet they think they owe nothing to the Author, and are like those rude Guests, who after they have been well entertained at a good Dinner, when they have glutted their Appetites, go away without so much as thanking him that treated them. But who would put himself to the Charge of making a Feast for Men of such nice Palates,

and so different Tastes; who are so forgetful of the Civilities that are paid them? But do you once clear those Points with *Raphael*, and then it will be time enough to consider whether it be fit to publish it or not; for since I have been at the Pains to write it, if he consents to it's being published I will follow my Friend's Advice, and chiefly yours. Farewell my dear *Peter*, commend me kindly to your good Wife, and love me still as you use to do, for I assure you I love you daily more and more.



(I)

THE
T R I A L
OF
Sir THOMAS MORE,
For HIGH TREASON.

B E F O R E,

The Duke of NORFOLK and other Commis-
sioners of *Oyer and Terminer*, the 7th of May,
1535, and in the 26th of HENRY VIII.
Taken from SALMON's Critical Review of
the STATE-TRIALS.

THE Charge contained in the Indictment
was, 1. That the Prisoner had stubborn-
ly opposed the King's second Marriage :
2. That he maliciously refused to declare his
Opinion of the Act of Supremacy : 3. That he
endeavoured to evade the Force of that Statute,
and advised Bishop *Fisher* by his Letters, not to

ii Sir THOMAS MORE^s.

submit to it; and, 4. That upon his examination in the *Tower*, it being demanded, if he approved the Act of Supremacy, he answered, *That the Question was like a two-edged Sword; if he answered one Way, it would destroy his Body; and if the other Way, his Soul; and these were laid to be Open or Overt-Acts of the Treason of his Heart.*

As to the two first Articles he did not deny, that he advised the King against his second Marriage, or, that he declined giving his Opinion concerning the Act of Supremacy; and his Letters to *Fisher* were said to prove the Third, but they were not produced: *Rich*, the King's Solicitor, gave Evidence of the Fourth, concerning his Answer on his Examination in the *Tower*.

Sir *Thomas* said in his Defence, That he had no Malice or Treason in his Heart, when he advised the King against his second Marriage, but gave his Opinion according to his Conscience and his Duty, when his Majesty required it; and that, if he had refused to deliver his Opinion, his Majesty might justly have resented it: 2. As to the second Charge, he thought Silence was no Sign of the Malice of his Heart; for, according to the Civilians, he who held his Peace seemed to consent, declaring, he had never cast any reflection on the Act before any Man: 3. As

As to the Third, which charges him with maliciously advising *Fisher* not to comply with the Act, he desired his Letters, that were said to prove it, might be produced, and he was confident they would acquit him of ever giving such Advice: 4. And as to the fourth Article, the Words were no Reflection on the Act if he had spoken them; but he had never said any thing like them, excepting at the same time to the Evidence of *Rich* the Solicitor, on whose Testimony he was charged with them; and appealing to the Memory of the Lords who were present at that Examination, they all declared, *They heard no such Words.*

The Jury, however, was so managed, that within a Quarter of an Hour after they were gone out, they returned with their Verdict, *That the Prisoner was GUILTY of High Treason.*

The Court demanding of Sir *Thomas*, What he had to say, why Judgment should not be pronounced against him, he only observed, That an Act of Parliament could not give the King the Supremacy of the Church, of which *England* was but a Part; and further, that none but Heaven could confer that Supremacy on any Person: After which Sentence was pronounced on him as a Traitor; tho' all except the beheading, was pardoned, on Account of the Prisoner's having born the Office of Lord Chancellor.

iv Sir THOMAS MORE's

He was ordered to be executed on the sixth of July, about a Month after his Trial. He preserved his usual facetious Temper to the last; for observing the Stairs of the Scaffold very weak, *he desired a Friend to lend him a Hand to get up; but when I come down (says he) let me shift for my self.* And when the Executioner, as usual, asked him forgiveness, *Friend (says Sir Thomas) you will get but little Credit in cutting off my Head, my Neck is so short.* Then he desired the Executioner's Leave to lay his Beard aside, for that had committed no Treason.

SALMON's Remarks on the TRIALS.

It is not easy to conceive what there was in this Charge, if it had been all proved, that could amount to High Treason, or even a Misdemeanor; unless it be criminal not to think alway as the King thinks. Very precarious was the Life of a Subject in this Reign. Whatever the Court were pleased to denominate Treason, was adjudged Treason; and whoever the Ministry thought fit to accuse, were found guilty. No Jury, or Court of Justice, durst refuse to convict any Man the King intimated he would have condemned to Death: And Parliaments met only to execute the King's Decrees. We may therefore look upon this Reign
of

T R I A L.

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of *Henry* the VIII. to be the most tyrannical, arbitrary, and cruel, that is to be met with in our Annals. From this Prosecution of *Sir Thomas More*, it appears that neither Virtue, Parts, Learning, or even Innocence, and the most inoffensive Behaviour, were any Protection. This great Man, who had arrived to a good old Age, was not suffered to go to the Grave in the natural and ordinary way. His steady and persevering Virtue was a Reproach to the Tyrant, who seemed determined to suffer no Man to live that would not fall down and worship him, and change his Creed as often as he changed his Mind.

Sir Thomas is sometimes censured for the lightness of his Expressions at the Hour of Death; but to me it only shews his Innocence, and that he considered this but as the Passage to a better State, which made him more than usually gay, at the Approach of his Execution; and as to his saying *His Beard had committed no Treason*, he certainly intended to intimate thereby, that his whole Person was equally innocent, and that nothing, how inoffensive soever, could escape the Rage and Fury of that Administration.

While he was a Prisoner in the Tower, and some Days before his Death, he composed the following Prayer; which we find inserted in most of the Catholick Manuals.

A Prayer

*A Prayer made by Sir THOMAS MORE,
whilst he was a Prisoner in the Tower.*

GIVE me O Lord, thy Grace, in all my Fear and Agony, to have recourse to that great Fear, and wonderful Agony, which thou, my sweet Saviour, sufferedst on Mount *Olivet*, before thy most bitter Passion; and in the Meditation thereof, to conceive such Spiritual Comfort as shall be profitable to my Soul.

Take from me, O my God, all vain-glorious Thoughts, all Appetite of my own Praise, all Envy, Covetousness, Gluttony, Sloth, and Luxury; all froward Affections, all Appetite of Revenge, all Desire of others Harm, all Pleasure in provoking any Person to Anger, all Delight of Exprobration and Insultation against any in their Affliction or Calamity. Give me, O Lord, an humble, quiet, peaceable, patient, tender and charitable Mind; and in all my Thoughts, Words and Deeds, to have a Taste of thy Holy Spirit.

Give me, O Lord, a lively Faith, a firm Hope, and a fervent Charity, a love of thee incomparably above the Love of my self; that I may love nothing to thy Displeasure, but every thing in order to thy Satisfaction.

Give me, O Lord, a longing to be with thee

P R A Y E R S. vii

thee, not for avoiding the Calamities of this wretched World, nor so much for escaping the Pains of Purgatory, or those of Hell, nor for the attaining the Joys of Heaven, with respect to my own Advantage, as purely for the Love of thee.

Retain for me, O Lord, thy Love and Favour, which my Love to thee, were it ever so great, could not (without thy infinite Goodness) deserve.

Pardon, O Lord, my Boldness, in making such high Petitions, being so vile and sinful a Wretch, and so unworthy to obtain the lowest: Yet, O Lord, they are such Things as I am bound to wish for, and should be near the effectual Desire of them; if my manifold Sins were not the Impediment: From which, O sweet Saviour Christ, vouchsafe of thy Goodness, to wash me with that blessed Blood that issued out of thy tender Body, in the divers Torments of thy most bitter Passion.

Take from me, O Lord, this lukewarm, or rather stark cold Manner of Meditation, and this Dulness in Prayer: Give me Fervour and Delight in thinking of Thee, and thy Grace earnestly to desire thy Holy Sacraments, and especially to rejoice in the Presence of thy blessed Body (sweet Saviour Christ) in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar: And duly to thank thee for thy gracious Visitation therein, and at
that

viii P R A Y E R S.

that high Memorial, with tender Compassion, to remember and consider thy most bitter Death upon the Cross.

Make us all, O Lord, every Day virtually Participants of that Holy Sacrament: Make us all lively Members, sweet Saviour Christ, of thy Holy Mystical Body, the Catholick Church. *Amen.*

LORD, give me Patience in Tribulation; and Grace in every Thing, to conform my Will to thine; that I may truly say, Thy Will be done on Earth, as it is in Heaven.

The Things, good Lord, that I pray for, give me thy Grace to labour for. *Amen.*





The DISCOURSES of
RAPHAEL HYTHLODAY,
Of the best State of a
Common-Wealth.

WRITTEN BY

Sir **THOMAS MORE**, Citizen
and Sheriff of **LONDON.**

HENRY the Eighth, the unconquer'd King
of *England*, a Prince adorned with all
the Virtues that become a great Mo-
narch; having some Differences of no small
Consequence with *Charles* the most serene Prince
of *Castile*, sent me into *Flanders*, as his Amba-
sador, for treating and composing Matters be-
tween

2 Sir THOMAS MORE's

tween them. I was Colleague and Companion to that incomparable Man *Cuthbert Tonstal*, whom the King with such universal Applause lately made Master of the Rolls; but of whom I will say nothing; not because I fear that the Testimony of a Friend will be suspected, but rather because his Learning and Virtues are too great for me to do them Justice, and so well known, that they need not my Commendations unless I would, according to the Proverb, *Shew the Sun with a Lanthorn*. Those that were appointed by the Prince to treat with us, met us at *Bruges*, according to Agreement; they were all worthy Men. The *Margrave of Bruges* was their Head, and the chief Man among them; but he that was esteemed the wisest, and that spoke for the rest, was *George Temse* the Provost of *Casselsee*; both Art and Nature had concurred to make him eloquent: He was very learned in the Law; and as he had a great Capacity, so by a long Practice in Affairs, he was very dextrous at unravelling them. After we had several times met without coming to an Agreement, they went to *Brussels* for some Days to know the Prince's Pleasure. And since our Business would admit it, I went to *Antwerp*: While I was there, among many that visited me, there was one that was more acceptable to me than any other; *Peter Giles* born at *Antwerp*, who is a Man of great Honour, and of a good Rank
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in his Town, tho' less than he deserves; for I do not know if there be any where to be found a more learned and a better bred young Man: for as he is both a very worthy, and a very knowing Person; so he is so civil to all Men, so particularly kind to his Friends, and so full of Candour and Affection, that there is not perhaps above one or two any where to be found, that is in all Respects so perfect a Friend: He is extraordinarily modest, there is no Artifice in him; and yet no Man has more of a prudent Simplicity: His Conversation was so pleasant and so innocently chearful, that his Company in a great measure lessened any Longings to go back to my Country, and to my Wife and Children, which an Absence of four Months had quicken'd very much. One Day as I was returning Home from Mass at *St. Mary's*, which is the chief Church, and the most frequented of any in *Antwerp*, I saw him by Accident talking with a Stranger, who seemed past the Flower of his Age; his Face was tanned, he had a long Beard and his Cloak was hanging carelessly about him, so that by his Looks and Habit I concluded he was a Seaman. As soon as *Peter* saw me, he came and saluted me; and as I was returning his Civility, he took me aside, and pointing to him with whom he had been discoursing, he said, Do you see that Man? I was just thinking to bring him to you. I answered, he should have been

4 Sir THOMAS MORE's

been very welcome on your Account : And on his own too, replied he, if you knew the Man, for there is none alive that can give so copious an Account of unknown Nations and Countries as he can do ; which I know you very much desire. Then said I, I did not guess amiss, for at first sight I took him for a Seaman : But you are much mistaken, said he, for he has not failed as a Seaman, but as a Traveller, or rather a Philosopher. This *Raphael*, who from his family carries the Name of *Hythloday*, is not ignorant of the Latin Tongue, but is eminently learned in the Greek, having applied himself more particularly to that than to the former, because he had given himself much to Philosophy, in which he knew that the *Romans* have left us nothing that is valuable, except what is to be found in *Seneca* and *Cicero*. He is a *Portuguese* by Birth, and was so desirous of seeing the World, that he divided his Estate among his Brothers, run the same Hazard as *Americus Vesputius*, and bore a Share in three of his four Voyages, that are now published ; only he did not return with him in his last, but obtained Leave of him almost by Force, that he might be one of those twenty-four who were left at the farthest Place at which they touched, in their last Voyage to *New Castile*. The leaving him thus, did not a little gratify one that was more fond of travelling than of returning Home, to be buried in his own Country.

Country; for he used often to say, that the Way to Heaven was the same from all Places; and he that had no Grave, had the Heavens still over him. Yet this Disposition of Mind had cost him dear, if God had not been very gracious to him; for after he, with five *Castilians* had travelled over many Countries, at last, by strange good Fortune, he got to *Ceylon*, and from thence to *Calicut*, where he very happily found some *Portuguese* Ships; and, beyond all Men's Expectations, returned to his native Country. When *Peter* had said this to me, I thanked him for his Kindness, in intending to give me the Acquaintance of a Man, whose Conversation he knew would be so acceptable; and upon that *Raphael* and I embraced each other. After those Civilities were past, which are usual with Strangers upon their first Meeting, we all went to my House, and entering into the Garden, sat down on a green Bank, and entertained one another in Discourse. He told us, that when *Vesputius* had sailed away, he and his Companions that staid behind in *New Castile*, by degrees insinuated themselves into the Affections of the People of the Country, meeting often with them, and treating them gently: and at last they not only lived among them without Danger, but conversed familiarly with them; and got so far into the Heart of a Prince, whose Name and Country I have forgot, that he both furnished them plentifully

6 Sir THOMAS MORE's

plentifully with all Things necessary, and also with the Conveniencies of travelling; both Boats when they went by Water, and Waggon when they travelled over Land: He sent with them a very faithful Guide, who was to introduce and recommend them to such other Princes as they had a Mind to see: And after many Days Journey, they came to Towns, and Cities, and to Commonwealths, that were both happily governed, and well peopled. Under the *Æquator*, and as far on both sides of it as the Sun moves, there lay vast Desarts that were parched with the perpetual Heat of the Sun; the Soil was withered, all Things look'd dismally, and all Places were either quite uninhabited, or abounded with wild Beasts and Serpents, and some few Men, that were neither less wild, nor less cruel than the Beasts themselves. But as they went farther, a new Scene opened, all Things grew milder, the Air less burning, the Soil more verdant, and even the Beasts were less wild: And at last there were Nations, Towns, and Cities, that had not only mutual Commerce among themselves, and with their Neighbours, but traded both by Sea and Land, to very remote Countries. There they found the Conveniencies of seeing many Countries on all Hands, for no Ship went any Voyage into which he and his Companions were not very welcome. The first vessels that they saw were flat-bottomed, their Sails were
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made of Reeds and Wicker woven close together, only some were of Leather; but afterwards they found Ships made with round Keels, and Canvass Sails, and in all Respects like our Ships; and the Seamen understood both Astronomy and Navigation. He got wonderfully into their Favour, by shewing them the Use of the Needle, of which till then they were utterly ignorant. They sailed before with great Caution, and only in Summer Time, but now they count all Seasons alike, trusting wholly to the Loadstone, in which they are perhaps more secure than safe; so that there is Reason to fear, that this Discovery which was thought would prove so much to their Advantage, may by their Imprudence become an Occasion of much Mischief to them. But it were too long to dwell on all that he told us he had observed in every Place; it would be too great a Digression from our present Purpose: Whatever is necessary to be told, concerning those wise and prudent Institutions which he observed among civilized Nations, may perhaps be related by us on a more proper Occasion. We ask'd him many Questions concerning all these Things, to which he answered very willingly; only we made no Enquiries after Monsters, than which nothing is more common; for every where one may hear of ravenous Dogs and Wolves, and cruel Men-eaters; but it is not so easy to find States that are well and wisely governed.

As

8 Sir THOMAS MORE's

As he told us of many Things that were amiss in those new-discovered Countries, so he reckoned up not a few Things, from which Patterns might be taken for correcting the Errors of these Nations among whom we live; of which an Account may be given, as I have already promised, at some other Time; for at present I intend only to relate those Particulars that he told us of the Manners and Laws of the *Utopians*: But I will begin with the Occasion that led us to speak of that Commonwealth. After *Raphael* had discoursed with great Judgment on the many Errors that were both among us and these Nations; had treated of the wise Institutions both here and there, and had spoken as distinctly of the Customs and Government of every Nation through which he had past, as if he had spent his whole Life in it; *Peter* being struck with Admiration, said, I wonder *Raphael*, how it comes that you enter into no King's Service, for I am sure there are none to whom you would not be very acceptable: For your Learning and Knowledge, both of Men and Things is such, that you would not only entertain them very pleasantly, but be of great Use to them, by the Examples you could set before them, and the Advices you could give them; and by this Means you would both serve your own Interest, and be of great Use to all your Friends. As for my Friends, answered he, I need not be much concerned, having al-

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ready done for them all that was incumbent on me; for when I was not only in good Health, but fresh and young, I distributed that among my Kindred and Friends, which other People do not part with till they are old and sick; when they then unwillingly give that which they can enjoy no longer themselves. I think my Friends ought to rest contented with this, and not to expect that for their Sakes I should enslave my self to any King whatsoever. Soft and fair, said *Peter*, I do not mean that you should be a Slave to any King, but only that you should assist them, and be useful to them. The Change of the Word, said he, does not alter the Matter. But term it as you will, replied *Peter*, I do not see any other Way in which you can be so useful, both in private to your Friends, and to the Publick, and by which you can make your own Condition happier. Happier! answered *Raphael*, is that to be compassed in a Way so abhorrent to my Genius? Now I live as I will, to which I believe few Courtiers can pretend: And there are so many that court the Favour of great Men, that there will be no great Loss, if they are not troubled either with me or with others of my Temper. Upon this, said I, I perceive *Raphael* that you neither desire Wealth nor Greatness; and indeed I value and admire such a Man much more than I do any of the great Men in the World. Yet I think you would do what would

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10 Sir *THOMAS MORE*'s

well become so generous and philosophical a Soul as yours is, if you would apply your Time and Thoughts to publick Affairs; even tho' you may happen to find it a little uneasy to your self; and this you can never do with so much Advantage, as by being taken into the Council of some great Prince, and putting him on noble and worthy Actions, which I know you would do if you were in such a Post; for the Springs both of Good and Evil, flow from the Prince, over a whole Nation, as from a lasting fountain. So much Learning as you have, even without Practice in Affairs; or so great a Practice as you have had, without any other Learning, would render you a very fit Counsellor to any King whatsoever. You are doubly mistaken, said he, Mr. *More*, both in your Opinion of me, and in the Judgment you make of Things: For as I have not that Capacity that you fancy I have; so, if I had it. the Publick would not be one Jot the better, when I had sacrificed my quiet to it. For most Princes apply themselves more to Affairs of War than to the useful Arts of Peace; and in these I neither have any Knowledge, nor do I much desire it: They are generally more set on acquiring new Kingdoms, right or wrong, than on governing well those they possess. And among the Ministers of Princes, there are none that are not so wise as to need no Assistance, or at least that do not think themselves so wise,
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that they imagine they need none; and if they court any, it is only those for whom the Prince has much personal Favour, whom by their Faunings and Flatteries they endeavour to fix to their own Interests: And indeed Nature has so made us, that we all love to be flattered, and to please ourselves with our own Notions. The old Crow loves his Young, and the Ape her Cubs. Now if in such a Court, made up of Persons who envy all others, and only admire themselves, a Person should but propose any thing that he had either read in History, or observed in his Travels, the rest would think that the Reputation of their Wisdom would sink, and that their Interests would be much depressed, if they could not run it down: And if all other Things failed, then they would fly to this, That such or such Things pleased our Ancestors, and it were well for us if we could but match them. They would set up their Rest on such an Answer, as a sufficient Confutation of all that could be said; as if it were a great Misfortune, that any should be found wiser than his Ancestors: But tho' they willingly let go all the good Things that were among those of former Ages; yet if better Things are proposed, they cover themselves obstinately with this Excuse, of Reverence to past Times. I have met with these proud, morose, and absurd Judgments of Things in many Places, particularly once in *England*.

Was you ever there, said I? Yes, I was, answered he, and staid some Months there, not long after the Rebellion in the West was suppressed, with a great Slaughter of the poor People that were engaged in it.

I was then much obliged to that Reverend Prelate *John Morton* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Cardinal, and Chancellor of *England*; a Man, said he, *Peter* (for Mr. *More* knows well what he was) that was not less venerable for his Wisdom and Virtues, than for the high Character he bore: He was of a middle Stature, not broken with Age; his Looks begot Reverence rather than Fear; his Conversation was easy, but serious and grave; he sometimes took Pleasure to try the Force of those that came as Suitors to him upon Business, by speaking sharply, tho' decently to them, and by that he discovered their Spirit and Presence of Mind; with which he was much delighted, when it did not grow up to Impudence, as bearing a great Resemblance to his own Temper; and he looked on such Persons as the fittest Men for Affairs. He spoke both gracefully and weightily; he was eminently skilled in the Law, had a vast Understanding, and a prodigious Memory: And those excellent Talents with which Nature had furnished him, were improved by Study and Experience. When I was in *England* the King depended much on his Councils, and the Government
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seemed to be chiefly supported by him ; for from his Youth, he had been all along practised in Affairs ; and having passed through many Traverses of Fortune, he had with great Cost acquired a vast Stock of Wisdom ; which is not soon lost, when it is purchased so dear. One Day when I was dining with him, there happened to be at Table one of the *English* Lawyers, who took Occasion to run out in a high Commendation of the severe Execution of Justice upon Thieves, who, as he said, were then hanged so fast, that there were sometimes twenty on one Gibbet; and upon that he said, he could not wonder enough how it came to pass, that since so few escaped, there were yet so many Thieves left who were still robbing in all Places. Upon this, I who took the Boldness to speak freely before the Cardinal, said, There was no Reason to wonder at the Matter, since this Way of punishing Thieves, was neither just in itself, nor good for the Publick ; for as the Severity was too great, so the Remedy was not effectual ; simple Theft not being so great a Crime, that it ought to cost a Man his Life ; no Punishment how severe soever, being able to restrain those from robbing, who can find out no other Way of Livelihood. In this, said I, not only you in *England*, but a great Part of the World imitate some ill Masters, that are readier to chastise their Scholars, than to teach them. There are dreadful Punishments enacted against

Thieves, but it were much better to make such good Provisions, by which every Man might be put in a Method how to live, and so be preserved from the fatal Necessity of stealing, and of dying for it. There has been Care enough taken for that, said he, there are many Handicrafts, and there is Husbandry, by which they may make a Shift to live, unless they have a greater Mind to follow ill Courses. That will not serve your Turn, said I, for many lose their Limbs in Civil or Foreign Wars, as lately in the *Cornish* Rebellion, and some time ago in your Wars with *France*, who being thus mutilated in the Service of their King and Country, can no more follow their old Trades, and are too old to learn new ones: But since Wars are only accidental Things, and have Intervals, let us consider those Things that fall out every Day. There is a great Number of Noblemen among you, that are themselves as idle as Drones, that subsist on other Men's Labour, on the Labour of their Tenants, whom, to raise their Revenues, they pare to the Quick. This indeed is the only Instance of their Frugality, for in all other Things they are Prodigal, even to the Beggaring of themselves: But besides this, they carry about with them a great Number of idle Fellows, who never learned any Art by which they may gain their Living; and these, as soon as either their Lord dies, or they themselves fall sick, are turned out of Doors; for your Lords are readier to feed idle People, than to take Care
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of the Sick; and often the Heir is not able to keep together so great a Family as his Predecessor did: Now when the Stomachs of those that are thus turned out of Doors, grow keen, they rob no less keenly; and what else can they do? for when, by wandering about, they have worn out both their Health and their Cloaths, and are tattered, and look ghastly, Men of Quality will not entertain them, and poor Men dare not do it; knowing that one who has been bred up in Idleness and Pleasure, and who was used to walk about with his Sword and Buckler, despising all the Neighbourhood with an insolent Scorn, as far below him, is not fit for the Spade and Mattock: Nor will he serve a poor Man for so small a Hire, and in so low a Diet as he can afford to give him. To this he answered, This Sort of Men ought to be particularly cherished, for in them consists the Force of the Armies for which we have occasion; since their Birth inspires them with a nobler Sense of Honour, than is to be found among Tradesmen or Ploughmen. You may as well say, replied I, that you must cherish Thieves on the Account of Wars, for you will never want the one, as long as you have the other; and as Robbers prove sometimes gallant Soldiers, so Soldiers often prove brave Robbers; so near an Alliance there is between those two Sorts of Life. But this bad Custom, so common among you, of keeping many Servants, is not peculiar to this Nation. In

France there is yet a more pestiferous Sort of People, for the whole Country is full of Soldiers, still kept up in Time of Peace; if such a State of a Nation can be called a Peace: And these are kept in Pay upon the same Account that you plead for those idle Retainers about Noblemen: This being a Maxim of those pretended Statesmen that it is necessary for the publick Safety, to have a good Body of *Veteran* Soldiers ever in readiness. They think raw Men are not to be depended on, and they sometimes seek Occasions for making War, that they may train up their Soldiers in the Art of cutting Throats, or as *Salust* observed, for keeping their Hands in use, that they may not grow dull by too long an Intermission. But *France* has learned to its Cost, how dangerous it is to feed such Beasts. The Fate of the *Romans*, *Carthaginians*, and *Syrians*, and many other Nations, and Cities, which were both overturned, and quite ruined by those standing Armies, should make others wiser: And the Folly of this Maxim of the *French*, appears plainly even from this, that their trained Soldiers often find your raw Men prove too hard for them; of which I will not say much, lest you may think I flatter the *English*. Every Day's Experience shews, that the Mechanics in the Towns, or the Clowns in the Country, are not afraid of fighting with those idle Gentlemen, if they are not disabled by some Misfortune in their Body, or dispirited by extreme

treme Want, so that you need not fear, that those well-shaped and strong Men, (for it is only such that Noblemen love to keep about them, till they spoil them) who now grow feeble with Ease, and are softned with their effeminate Manner of Life, would be less fit for Action if they were well bred and well employed. And it seems very unreasonable, that for the Prospect of a War, which you need never have but when you please, you should maintain so many idle Men, as will always disturb you in Time of Peace, which is ever to be more considered than War. But I do not think that this Necessity of Stealing, arises only from hence; there is another Cause of it more peculiar to *England*. What is that? said the Cardinal; The increase of Pasture, said I, by which your Sheep, which are naturally mild, and easily kept in order, may be said now to devour Men, and unpeople, not only Villages, but Towns: For wherever it is found, that the Sheep of any Soil yield a softer and richer Wool than ordinary, there the Nobility and Gentry, and even those holy Men the Abbots, not contented with the old Rents which their Farms yielded, nor thinking it enough that they living at their Ease, do no good to the Publick, resolve to do it Hurt instead of Good. They stop the Course of Agriculture, destroying Houses and Towns, reserving only the Churches, and inclose Grounds that they may lodge their Sheep in them,

As if Forests and Parks had swallowed up too little of the Land, those worthy Country Men turn the best inhabited Places in Solitudes; for when an unsatiabable Wretch, who is a Plague to his Country, resolves to inclose many thousand Acres of Ground, the Owners, as well as Tenants, are turned out of their Possessions, by Tricks, or by main Force, or being wearied out with ill Usage, they are forced to sell them. By which Means those miserable People, both Men and Women, Married and Unmarried, Old and Young, with their poor, but numerous Families, (since Country Business requires many Hands) are all forced to change their Seats, not knowing whither to go; and they must sell almost for nothing, their Household Stuff, which could not bring them much Money, even tho' they might stay for a Buyer: When that little Money is at an end, for it will be soon spent; what is left for them to do, but either to steal and so to be hanged, (God knows how justly) or to go about and beg? And if they do this, they are put in Prison as idle Vagabonds; while they would willingly work, but can find none that will hire them; for there is no more Occasion for Country Labour, to which they have been bred, when there is no Arable Ground left. One Shepherd can look after a Flock, which will stock an extent of Ground that would require many Hands, if it were to be ploughed and reaped. This likewise
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in many Places raises the Price of Corn. The Price of Wool is also so risen, that the poor People who were wont to make Cloth, are no more able to buy it; and this likewise makes many of them idle: For since the Increase of Pasture, God has punished the Avarice of the Owners, by a Rot among the Sheep, which has destroyed vast Numbers of them; to us it might have seemed more just had it fell on the Owners themselves. But suppose the Sheep should increase ever so much, their Price is not like to fall; since tho' they cannot be called a *Monopoly*, because they are not engrossed by one Person, yet they are in so few Hands, and these are so rich, that as they are not prest to sell them sooner than they have a Mind to it, so they never do it till they have raised the Price as high as possible. And on the same Account it is, that the other Kinds of Cattle are so dear, because many Villages being pulled down, and all Country-Labour being much neglected, there are none who make it their Business to breed them. The Rich do not breed Cattle as they do Sheep, but buy them lean, and at low Prices; and after they have fattened them on their Grounds, sell them again at high Rates. And I do not think that all the Inconveniencies this will produce, are yet observed; for as they sell the Cattle dear, so if they are consumed faster than the breeding Countries from which they are brought, can afford them;

them; then the Stock must decrease, and this must needs end in great Scarcity; and by these Means this your Island, which seemed as to this Particular, the happiest in the World, will suffer much by the cursed Avarice of a few Persons; besides this, the rising of Corn makes all People lessen their Families as much as they can; and what can those who are dismissed by them do, but either beg or rob? And to this last, a Man of a great Mind is much sooner drawn than to the former. Luxury likewise breaks in apace upon you, to set forward your Poverty and Misery; there is an excessive Vanity in Apparel, and great Cost in Diet; and that not only in Noblemen's Families, but even among Tradesmen; among the Farmers themselves, and among all Ranks of Persons. You have also many infamous Houses, and besides those that are known, the Taverns and Ale-houses are no better; add to these, Dice, Cards, Tables, Foot-ball, Tennis, and Coits, in which Money runs fast away; and those that are initiated into them, must in the Conclusion betake themselves to Robbing for a Supply. Banish these Plagues, and give Orders that those who have dispeopled so much Soil, may either rebuild the Villages they have pulled down, or let out their Grounds to such as will do it: Restrain those Engrossings of the Rich, that are as bad almost as *Monopolies*; leave fewer Occasions to Idleness; let Agriculture be set up again, and the Manufacture

facture of the Wool be regulated, that so there may be Work found for those Companies of idle People, whom Want forces to be Thieves, or who now being idle Vagabonds, or useles Servants, will certainly grow Thieves at last. If you do not find a Remedy to these Evils, it is a vain Thing to boast of your Severity in punishing Theft; which tho' it may have the Appearance of Justice, yet in itself is neither just nor convenient: For if you suffer your People to be ill educated, and their Manners to be corrupted from their Infancy, and then punish them for those Crimes to which their first Education disposed them, what else is to be concluded from this, but that you first make Thieves and then punish them?

While I was talking thus, the Counsellor who was present had prepared an Answer, and had resolved to resume all I had said, according to the Formality of a Debate, in which Things are generally repeated more faithfully than they are answered; as if the chief Trial to be made, were of Men's Memories. You have talked prettily for a Stranger, said he, having heard of many Things among us, which you have not been able to consider well; but I will make the whole Matter plain to you, and will first repeat in Order all that you have said, then I will shew how much your Ignorance of our Affairs has misled you, and will in the last Place answer all your Arguments.

Arguments. And that I may begin where I promised, there were four Things——Hold your Peace, said the Cardinal, this will take up too much Time; therefore we will at present ease you of the Trouble of answering, and reserve it to our next Meeting, which shall be To-morrow, if *Raphael's* Affairs and your's can admit of it: But *Raphael*, said he to me, I would gladly know upon what Reason it is that you think Theft ought not to be punished by Death? Would you give Way to it? Or do you propose any other Punishment that will be more useful to the Publick? For since Death does not restrain Theft, if Men thought their Lives would be safe, what Fear or Force could restrain ill Men? On the Contrary, they would look on the Mitigation of the Punishment, as an Invitation to commit more Crimes. I answered, It seems to me a very unjust Thing to take away a Man's Life for a little Money; for nothing in the World can be of equal Value with a Man's Life: And if it is said, that it is not for the Money that one suffers, but for his breaking the Law; I must say, extream Justice is an extream Injury: for we ought not to approve of these terrible Laws that make the smallest Offences capital; nor of that Opinion of the *Stoicks*, that makes all Crimes equal, as if there were no difference to be made between the killing a Man, and the taking his Purse, between which, if we examine Things impartially, there

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is no Likeness nor Proportion. God has commanded us not to kill, and shall we kill so easily for a little Money? But if one shall say, That by that Law we are only forbid to kill any, except when the Laws of the Land allow of it; upon the same Grounds, Laws may be made in some Cases to allow of Adultery and Perjury: for God having taken from us the Right of disposing, either of our own, or of other Peoples Lives, if it is pretended that the mutual Consent of Men in making Laws, can authorize Manslaughter in Cases in which God has given us no Example, that it frees People from the Obligation of the Divine Law, and so makes Murder a lawful Action: What is this, but to give a Preference to Human Laws before the Divine? And if this is once admitted, by the same Rule, Men may in all other Things put what Restrictions they please upon the Laws of God. If by the *Mosaical* Law, tho' it was rough and severe, as being a Yoke laid on an obstinate and servile Nation, Men were only fined, and not put to Death for Theft; we cannot imagine that in this new Law of Mercy, in which God treats us with the Tenderness of a Father, he has given us a greater License to Cruelty, than he did to the *Jews*. Upon these Reasons it is, that I think putting Thieves to Death is not lawful; and it is plain and obvious that it is absurd, and of ill Consequence to the Commonwealth, that a Thief and a Murderer should be
equally

24 Sir THOMAS MORE's

equally punished : for if a Robber sees that his Danger is the same, if he is convicted of Theft, as if he were guilty of Murder, this will naturally incite him to kill the Person whom otherwise he would only have robbed, since if the Punishment is the same, there is more Security, and less Danger of discovery, when he that can best make it is put out of the Way ; so that terrifying Thieves too much, provokes them to cruelty.

But as to the Question, What more convenient Way of Punishment can be found ? I think it is much more easier to find out that, than to invent any Thing that is worse ; Why should we doubt but the Way that was so long in Use among the Old *Romans*, who understood so well the Arts of Government, was very proper for their Punishment ? They condemned such as they found Guilty of great Crimes, to work their whole Lives in Quarries, or to dig in Mines with Chains about them. But the Method that I liked best, was that which I observed in my Travels in *Persia*, among the *Polyerits*, who are a considerable and well-governed People. They pay a yearly Tribute to the King of *Persia* ; but in all other Respects they are a free Nation, and governed by their own Laws. They lie far from the Sea, and are environed with Hills ; and being contented with the Productions of their own Country, which is very fruitful, they have little Commerce with any other Nation ; and as they,

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according to the Genius of their Country, have no Inclination to enlarge their Borders ; so their Mountains, and the Pension they pay to the *Persian*, secure them from all Invasions. Thus they have no Wars among them ; they live rather conveniently than with Splendor, and may be rather called a Happy Nation, than either Eminent or Famous ; for I do not think that they are known so much as by Name to any but their next Neighbours. Those that are found guilty of Theft among them, are bound to make Restitution to the Owner, and not as it is in other Places, to the Prince, for they reckon that the Prince has no more right to the stolen Goods than the Thief ; but if that which was stolen is no more in being, then the Goods of the Thieves are estimated, and Restitution being made out of them, the Remainder is given to their Wives and Children : and they themselves are condemned to serve in the Publick Works, but are neither imprisoned, nor chained, unless there happened to be some extraordinary Circumstances in their Crimes. They go about loose and free, working for the Publick : If they are idle or backward to work, they are whipp'd ; but if they work hard, they are well used and treated without any mark of Reproach, only the Lists of them are called always at Night, and then they are shut up : They suffer no other Uneasiness, but this of constant Labour ; for as they work for the Publick, so they are well entertained

26 Sir THOMAS MORE's

tertained out of the public Stock, which is done differently in different Places : In some Places, whatever is bestowed on them, is raised by a charitable Contribution ; and tho' this Way may seem uncertain, yet so merciful are the Inclinations of that People, that they are plentifully supplied by it ; but in other Places, publick Revenues are set aside for them ; or there is a constant Tax of a Poll-money raised for their Maintenance. In some Places they are set to no Public Work, but every private Man that has occasion to hire Workmen, goes to the Market-places and hires them of the Publick, a little lower than he would do a Freeman : If they go lazily about their Task, he may quicken them with the Whip. By this Means there is always some piece of Work or other to be done by them ; and beside their Livelihood, they earn somewhat still to the Publick. They all wear a peculiar habit, of one certain Colour, and their Hair is cropt a little above their Ears, and a Piece of one of their Ears is cut off. Their Friends are allowed to give them either Meat, Drink, or Cloaths, so they are of their proper Colour ; but it is Death, both to the Giver and Taker, if they give them Money ; nor is it less penal for any Freeman to take Money from them, upon any Account whatsoever : And it is also Death for any of these *Slaves* (so they are called) to handle Arms. Those of every Division of the Country, are distinguished by a

peculiar

peculiar Mark ; which it is Capital for them to lay aside, to go out of their Bounds, or to talk with a Slave of another Jurisdiction ; and the very Attempt of an Escape, is no less penal than an Escape itself ; it is Death for any other Slave to be accessary to it ; and if a Freeman engages in it he is condemned to Slavery : Those that discover it are rewarded ; if Freeman, in Money ; and if Slaves, with Liberty, together with a Pardon for being accessary to it ; that so they might find their Account, rather in repenting of their engaging in such a Design, than in persisting in it.

These are their Laws and Rules in Relation to Robbery ; and it is obvious that they are as advantageous as they are mild and gentle ; since Vice is not only destroyed, and Men preserved ; but they treated in such a Manner as to make them see the Necessity of being honest, and of employing the rest of their Lives, in repairing the Injuries they have formerly done to Society. Nor is there any Hazard of their falling back to their old Customs : And so little do Travellers apprehend Mischief from them, that they generally make use of them for Guides, from one Jurisdiction to another ; for there is nothing left them by which they can rob, or be the better for it, since as they are disarmed, so the very having of Money is a sufficient Conviction : and as they are certainly punished if discovered, so they cannot hope to escape ; for their Habit being in all the

28 Sir THOMAS MORE's

the Parts of it different from what is commonly worn, they cannot fly away, unless they would go naked, and even then their crop'd Ear would betray them. The only Danger to be feared from them, is their conspiring against the Government: But those of one Division and Neighbourhood can do nothing to any Purpose, unless a general-Conspiracy were laid amongst all the Slaves of the several Jurisdictions, which cannot be done, since they cannot meet or talk together; nor will any venture on a Design where the Concealment would be so dangerous, and the Discovery so profitable. None are quite hopeless of recovering their Freedom, since by their Obedience and Patience, and by giving good Grounds to believe that they will change their manner of Life for the Future, they may expect at last to obtain their Liberty: and some are every Year restored to it, upon the good Character that is given of them. When I had related all this, I added, That I did not see why such a Method might not be followed with more Advantage, than could ever be expected from that severe Justice which the Counsellor magnified so much. To this he answered, That it could never take Place in *England*, without endangering the whole Nation. As he said this, he shook his Head, made some Grimaces, and held his Peace, while all the Company seem'd of his Opinion, except the Cardinal, who said that it was not easy to form a Judgment of its Success, since

since it was a Method that never yet had been tried : But if, said he, when the Sentence of Death was past upon a Thief, the Prince would relieve him for a while, and make the Experiment upon him, denying him the Privilege of a Sanctuary ; and then if it had a good Effect upon him, it might take Place ; and if it did not succeed, the worst would be, to execute the Sentence on the condemned Persons at last. And I do not see, added he, why it would be either unjust, inconvenient, or at all dangerous, to admit of such a delay : In my Opinion, the Vagabonds ought to be treated in the same Manner ; against whom, though we have made many Laws, yet we have not been able to gain our End. When the Cardinal had done, they all commended the Motion, tho' they had despised it when it came from Me ; but more particularly commended what related to the Vagabonds, because it was his own Observation.

I do not know whether it be worth while to tell what followed, for it was very ridiculous ; but I shall venture at it, for as it is not foreign to this Matter, so some good Use may be made of it. There was a Jester standing by, that counterfeited the Fool so naturally, that he seemed to be really one. The Jests which he offered were so cold and dull, that we laughed more at him than at them ; yet sometimes he said, as it were by chance, Things that were not unpleasant ; so as to justify
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30 Sir THOMAS MORE's

the old Proverb, *That he who throws the Dice often, will sometimes have a lucky Hit.* When one of the Company had said, that I had taken care of the Thieves, and the Cardinal had taken care of the Vagabonds, so that there remained nothing but that some publick Provision might be made for the Poor, whom Sickness or Old Age had disabled from Labour: Leave that to me said the Fool, and I shall take care of them; for there is no Sort of People whose Sight I abhor more, having been so often vexed with them, and with their sad Complaints; but as dolefully soever as they have told their Tale, they could never prevail so far as to draw one Penny from me: for either I had no Mind to give them any Thing, or when I had a Mind to do it, I had nothing to give them: and they now know me so well, that they will not lose their Labour, but let me pass without giving me any Trouble, because they hope for nothing, no more in Faith than if I were a *Priest*: But I would have a Law made, for sending all these Beggars to Monasteries, the Men to the *Benedictines* to be made Lay-Brothers, and the Women to be Nuns. The Cardinal smiled, and approved of it in jest; but the rest liked it in earnest: There was a Divine present, who tho' he was a grave morose Man, yet he was so pleased with this Reflection that was made on the Priests and the Monks, that he began to play with the Fool, and said to him, This will not deliver you
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from all Beggars, except you take Care of us *Friars*. That is done already, answered the Fool, for the Cardinal has provided for you, by what he proposed for restraining Vagabonds, and setting them to work, for I know no Vagabonds like you. This was well entertained by the whole Company, who looking at the Cardinal, perceived that he was not ill pleased at it; only the Friar himself was vexed, as may be easily imagined, and fell into such a Passion, that he could not forbear railing at the Fool, and calling him *Knave, Slanderer, Backbiter, and Son of Perdition*, and then cited some dreadful Threatnings out of the Scriptures against him. Now the Jester thought he was in his Element, and laid about him freely: Good Friar, said he, be not angry, for it is written, *In Patience possess your Soul*. The Friar answered, (for I shall give you his own Words) I am not angry, you Hangman; at least I do not sin in it, for the Psalmist says, *Be ye angry, and sin not*. Upon this the Cardinal admonished him gently, and wished him to govern his Passions. No, my Lord, said he, I speak not but from a good Zeal, which I ought to have; for Holy Men have had a good Zeal, as it is said, *The Zeal of thy House hath eaten me up*; and we sing in our Church, that those who mocked *Elisha* as he went up to the House of God, felt the Effects of his Zeal; which that Mocker, that Rogue, that Scoundrel, will perhaps feel.

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32 Sir THOMAS MORE's

You do this perhaps with a good Intention, said the Cardinal; but in my Opinion, it were wiser in you, and perhaps better for you, not to engage in so ridiculous a Contest with a Fool. No, my Lord, answered he, that were not wisely done; for *Solomon*, the wisest of Men, said, *Answer a Fool according to his Folly*; which I now do, and shew him the Ditch into which he will fall, if he is not aware of it; for if the many Mockers of *Elisba*, who was but one bald Man, felt the Effect of his Zeal, What will become of one Mocker of so many Friars, among whom there are so many bald Men? We have likewise a Bull, by which all that jeer us are excommunicated. When the Cardinal saw that there was no End of this Matter, he made a Sign to the Fool to withdraw, turned the Discourse another Way; and soon after rose from the Table, and dismissing us, went to hear Causes.

Thus, Mr. *More*, I have run out into a tedious Story, of the Length of which I had been ashamed, if, as you earnestly begged it of me, I had not observed you to hearken to it, as if you had no mind to lose any Part of it: I might have contracted it, but I resolved to give it you at large, that you might observe how those that despised what I had proposed, no sooner perceived that the Cardinal did not dislike it, but presently approved of it, fawned so on him, and flattered him to such a Degree, that they in good earnest applauded those

those Things that he only liked in jest. And from hence you may gather, how little Courtiers would value either me or my Counsels.

To this I answered, You have done me a great kindness in this Relation; for as every Thing has been related by you, both wisely and pleasantly, so you have made me imagine, that I was in my own Country, and grown young again, by recalling that good Cardinal to my Thoughts, in whose Family I was bred from my Childhood: And tho' you are upon other Accounts very dear to me, yet you are the dearer, because you honour his Memory so much: But after all this I cannot change my Opinion; for I still think that if you could overcome that Aversion which you have to the Courts of Princes, you might, by the Advice which it is in your Power to give, do a great deal of good to Mankind; and this is the chief Design that every good Man ought to propose to himself in living: for your Friend *Plato* thinks that Nations will be happy, when either Philosophers become Kings, or Kings become Philosophers; it is no wonder if we are so far from that Happiness, while Philosophers will not think it their Duty to assist Kings with their Councils. They are not so base-minded, said he, but that they would willingly do it: Many of them have already done it by their Books, if those that are in Power would but hearken to their good Advice. But *Plato* judged right, that except Kings themselves became Philosophers, they who from

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34 Sir THOMAS MORE's

their Childhood are corrupted with false Notions, would never fall in intirely with the Councils of Philosophers, and this he himself found to be true in the Person of *Dionysius*.

Do not you think, that if I were about any King, proposing good Laws to him, and endeavouring to root out all the cursed Seeds of Evil that I found in him, I should either be turned out of his Court, or at least be laughed at for my Pains? For Instance, what could I signify if I were about the King of *France*, and were called into his Cabinet-Council, where several wise Men, in his Hearing, were proposing many Expedients; as by what Arts and Practices *Milan* may be kept; and *Naples*, that has so oft slip'd out of their Hands, recovered; how the *Venetians*, and after them the rest of *Italy* may be subdued; and then how *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and all *Burgundy*, and some other Kingdoms which he has swallowed already in his Designs, may be added to his Empire. One proposes a League with the *Venetians*, to be kept as long as he finds his Account in it, and that he ought to communicate Councils with them, and give them some Share of the Spoil, till his Success makes him need or fear them less, and then it will be easily taken out of their Hands. Another proposes the hiring the *Germans*, and the securing the *Switzers* by Pensions. Another proposes the gaining the Emperor by Money, which is Omnipotent with him. Another proposes a Peace with the
King

King of *Arragon*, and in order to cement it, the yielding up the King of *Navarre's* Pretensions. Another thinks the Prince of *Castile* is to be wrought on, by the Hope of an Alliance; and that some of his Courtiers are to be gained to the *French* Faction by Pensions. The hardest Point of all is what to do with *England*: A Treaty of Peace is to be set on Foot, and if their Alliance is not to be depended on, yet it is to be made as firm as possible; and they are to be called Friends, but suspected as Enemies: Therefore the *Scots* are to be kept in Readiness, to be let loose upon *England* on every Occasion; and some banished Nobleman is to be supported underhand (for by the League it cannot be done avowedly) who has a Pretension to the Crown, by which Means that suspected Prince may be kept in Awe. Now when Things are in so great a Fermentation, and so many gallant Men are joining Councils, how to carry on the War, if so mean a Man as I should stand up, and wish them to change all their Councils, to let *Italy* alone, and stay at Home, since the Kingdom of *France* was indeed greater than could be well governed by one Man; that therefore he ought not to think of adding others to it: And if after this, I should propose to them the Resolutions of the *Achorians*, a People that lie on the South East of *Utopia*, who long ago engaged in War, in order to add to the Dominions of their Prince another Kingdom, to which he had some Pretensions by an

36 Sir *THOMAS MORE*'s

ancient Alliance. This they conquer'd, but found that the Trouble of keeping it, was equal to that by which it was gained; that the conquer'd People were always either in Rebellion or exposed to foreign Invasions, while they were obliged to be incessantly at War, either for or against them, and consequently could never disband their Army; that in the mean Time they were oppress'd with Taxes, their Money went out of the Kingdom, their Blood was spilt for the Glory of their King, without procuring the least Advantage to the People, who received not the smallest Benefit from it even in Time of Peace; and that their Manners being corrupted by a long War, Robbery and Murders, every where abounded, and their Laws fell into Contempt; while their King, distracted with the Care of two Kingdoms, was the less able to apply his Mind to the Interest of either. When they saw this, and that there would be no End to these Evils, they by joint Councils made an humble Address to their King, desiring him to chuse which of the two Kingdoms he had the greatest Mind to keep, since he could not hold both; for they were too great a People to be governed by a divided King, since no Man would willingly have a Groom that should be in common between him and another. Upon which the good Prince was forced to quit his new Kingdom to one of his Friends, (who was not long after dethroned) and to be contented

tented with his old one. To this I would add, that after all those warlike Attempts, the vast Confusions, and the Consumption both of Treasure and of People that must follow them; perhaps upon some Misfortune, they might be forced to throw up all at last; therefore it seemed much more eligible that the King should improve his ancient Kingdom all he could, and make it flourish as much as possible; that he should love his People, and be beloved of them; that he should live among them, govern them gently, and let other Kingdoms alone, since that which had fallen to his Share was big enough, if not too big for him. Pray how do you think would such a Speech as this be heard? I confess, said I, I think not very well.

But what, said he, if I should sort with another Kind of Ministers, whose chief Contrivances and Consultations were, by what Art the Prince's Treasures might be encreased. Where one proposes raising the Value of Specie when the King's Debts are large, and lowering it when his Revenues were to come in, that so he might both pay much with a little, and in a little receive a great deal: Another proposes a Pretence of a War, that Money might be raised in order to cary it on, and that a Peace be concluded as soon as that was done; and this with such Appearances of Religion as might work on the People, and make them impute it to the Piety of their Prince, and

38 Sir *THOMAS MORE*'s

to his Tenderneſs for the Lives of his Subjects. A third offers ſome old muſty Laws, that have been antiquated by a long diſuſe ; and which, as they had been forgotten by all the Subjects, ſo they had been alſo broken by them ; and propoſes the levying the Penalties of theſe Laws, that as it would bring in a vaſt Treafure, ſo there might be a very good Pretence for it, ſince it would look like the executing a Law, and the doing of Juſtice. A fourth propoſes the prohibiting of many Things under ſevere Penalties, eſpecially ſuch as were againſt the Intereſt of the People, and then the diſpenſing with theſe Prohibitions upon great Compoſitions, to thoſe who might find their Advantage in breaking them. This would ſerve two Ends, both of them acceptable to many ; for as thoſe whoſe Avarice led them to tranſgreſs, would be ſeverely fined, ſo the ſelling Licences dear, would look as if a Prince were tender of his People, and would not eaſily, or at low Rates, diſpenſe with any Thing that might be againſt the publick Good. Another propoſes, that the Judges muſt be made ſure, that they may declare always in Favour of the Prerogative, that they muſt be often ſent for to Court, that the King may hear them argue thoſe Points in which he is concerned ; ſince how unjuſt ſoever any of his Pretenſions may be, yet ſtill ſome one or other of them, either out of Contradiſtion to others, or the Pride of Singularity, or to make their Court,

Court, would find out some Pretence or other to give the King a fair Colour to carry the Point; For if the Judges but differ in Opinion, the clearest Thing in the World is made by that Means disputable, and Truth being once brought in Question, the King may then take Advantage to expound the Law for his own Profit; while the Judges that stand out will be brought over, either out of Fear or Modesty; and they being thus gained, all of them may be sent to the Bench to give Sentence boldly, as the King would have it: For fair Pretences will never be wanting when Sentence is to be given in the Prince's Favour; It will either be said, that Equity lies of his Side, or some Words in the Law will be found sounding that way, or some forced Sense will be put on them; and when all other Things fail, the King's undoubted Prerogative will be pretended, as that which is above all Law; and to which a religious Judge ought to have a special Regard. Thus all consent to that Maxim of *Craffus*, that a Prince cannot have Treasure enough, since he must maintain his Armies out of it: That a King, even though he would, can do nothing unjustly; that all Property is in him, not excepting the very Persons of his Subjects: And that no Man has any other Property, but that which the King out of his Goodness thinks fit to leave him: And they think it is the Prince's Interest, that there be as little of this left as may be, as if it were his Advantage

40 Sir THOMAS MORE's

vantage that his People should have neither Riches nor Liberty; since these Things make them less easy and less willing to submit to a cruel and unjust Government; whereas Necessity and Poverty blunts them, makes them patient, beats them down, and breaks that Height of Spirit, that might otherwise dispose them to rebel. Now what if after all these Propositions were made, I should rise up and assert, that such Councils were both unbecoming a King, and mischievous to him: And that not only his Honour but his Safety consisted more in his People's Wealth, than in his own; if I should shew that they choose a King for their own Sake, and not for his; that by his Care and Endeavours they may be both easy and safe; and that therefore a Prince ought to take more Care of his People's Happiness, than of his own, as a Shepherd is to take more Care of his Flock than of himself. It is also certain, that are they much mistaken, that think the Poverty of a Nation is a means of the publick Safety, Who quarrel more than Beggars? Who does more earnestly long for a Change, than he that is uneasy in his present Circumstances? And who run to create Confusions with so desperate a Boldness, as those who having nothing to lose, hope to gain by them? If a King should fall under such Contempt or Envy, that he could not keep his Subjects in their Duty, but by Oppression and ill Usage, and by rendering them poor and miserable,

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it were certainly better for him to quit his Kingdom, than to retain it by such Methods, as makes him while he keeps the Name of Authority, lose the Majesty due to it. Nor is it so becoming the Dignity of a King to reign over Beggars, as over rich and happy Subjects. And therefore *Fabricius*, a Man of a noble and exalted Temper, said, he would rather govern rich Men, than be rich himself; since for one Man to abound in Wealth and Pleasure, when all about him are mourning and groaning, is to be a Gaoler and not a King: He is an unskilful Physician, that cannot cure one Disease without casting his Patient into another: So he that can find no other Way for correcting the Errors of his People, but by taking from them the Conveniencies of Life, shews that he knows not what it is to govern a free Nation. He himself ought rather to shake off his Sloth, or to lay down his Pride; for the Contempt or Hatred that his People have for him, takes its rise from the Vices in himself. Let him live upon what belongs to him, without wronging others, and accommodate his Expence to his Revenue. Let him punish Crimes, and by his wise Conduct let him endeavour to prevent them, rather than be severe when he has suffered them to be too common: Let him not rashly revive Laws that are abrogated by disuse, especially if they have been long forgotten, and never wanted. And let him never take any Penalty for the Breach of them,

to which a Judge would not give way in a private Man, but would look on him as a crafty and unjust Person for pretending to it. To these Things I would add, that Law among the *Macarians*, a People that lie not far from *Utopia*, by which their King, on the Day on which he begins to reign, is, tied by an Oath confirmed by solemn Sacrifices, never to have at once above a thousand Pounds of Gold in his Treasures, or so much Silver as is equal to that in Value. This Law, they tell us, was made by an excellent King, who had more Regard to the Riches of his Country, than to his own Wealth: and therefore provided against the heaping up of so much Treasure, as might impoverish the People: He thought that moderate Sum might be sufficient for any Accident; if either the King had occasion for it against Rebels, or the Kingdom against the Invasion of an Enemy; but that it was not enough to encourage a Prince to invade other Mens Rights, a Circumstance that was the chief Cause of his making that Law. He also thought, that it was a good Provision for that free Circulation of Money, so necessary for the Course of Commerce and Exchange: And when a King must distribute all those extraordinary Accessions that increase Treasure beyond the due Pitch, it makes him less disposed to oppress his Subjects. Such a King as this, will be the Terror of ill Men, and will be beloved by all the good.

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If, I say, I should talk of these or such like Things, to Men that had taken their Biass another Way, how deaf would they be to all I could say? No Doubt, very deaf, answered I; and no Wonder, for one is never to offer at Propositions or Advice that we are certain will not be entertained. Discourses so much out of the Road could not avail any Thing, nor have any Effect on Men, whose Minds were prepossessed with different Sentiments. This philosophical Way of Speculation, is not unpleasant among Friends in a free Conversation; but there is no Room for it in the Courts of Princes, where great Affairs are carried on by Authority. That is what I was saying, replied he, that there is no room for Philosophy in the Courts of Princes. Yes, there is, said I, but not for this speculative Philosophy, that makes every Thing to be alike fitting at all Times: But there is another Philosophy that is more pliable, that knows its proper Scene, accommodates itself to it, and teaches a Man with Propriety and Decency to act that Part which has fallen to his Share. If when one of *Plautus's* Comedies is upon the Stage, and a Company of Servants are acting their Parts, you should come out in the Garb of a Philosopher, and repeat out of *Octavia*, a Discourse of *Seneca's* to *Nero*, would it not be better for you to say nothing, than by mixing Things of such different Natures, to make an impertinent Tragi-Comedy?

44 Sir THOMAS MORE's

For you spoil and corrupt the Play that is in Hand, when you mix with it Things of an opposite Nature, even tho' they are much better. Therefore go through with the Play that is acting the best you can; and do not confound it, because another that is pleasanter comes into your Thoughts. It is even so in a Common-Wealth, and in the Councils of Princes; if ill Opinions cannot be quite rooted out, and you cannot cure some received Vice according to your Wishes, you must not therefore abandon the Commonwealth, for the same Reasons as you should not forsake the Ship in a Storm, because you cannot command the Winds. You are not obliged to assault People with Discourses that are out of their Road, when you see that their received Notions must prevent your making an Impression upon them. You ought rather to cast about, and to manage Things with all the Dexterity in your Power, so that if you are not able to make them go well, they may be as little ill as possible: For except all Men were good, every Thing cannot be right; and that is a Blessing that I do not at present hope to see. According to your Arguments, answered he, all that I could be able to do would be to preserve myself from being mad while I endeavoured to cure the Madness of others: For if I speak Truth, I must repeat what I have said to you; and as for lying whether a Philosopher can do it or not, I cannot tell; I am sure

I cannot do it. But though these Discourses may be uneasy and ungrateful to them, I do not see why they should seem foolish or extravagant: Indeed if I should either propose such Things as *Plato* has contrived in his Common-Wealth, or as the *Utopians* practise in theirs, though they might seem better, as certainly they are, yet they are so different from our Establishment, which is founded on Property, there being no such Thing among them, that I could not expect that it would have any Effect on them: But such Discourses as mine, which only call past Evils to mind, and give Warning of what may follow, have nothing in them that is so absurd, that they may not be used at any Time; for they can only be unpleasant to those who are resolved to run headlong the contrary Way: And if we must let alone every Thing as absurd or extravagant, which by Reason of the wicked Lives of many, may seem uncouth, we must, even among Christians, give over pressing the greatest Part of those Things that Christ hath taught us: Though he has commanded us not to conceal them, but to proclaim on the House-tops that which he taught in secret. The greatest Parts of his Precepts are more opposite to the Lives of the Men of this Age, than any Part of my Discourse has been: But the Preachers seem to have learn'd that Craft to which you advise me; for they observing that the World would not willingly suit their Lives to the Rules that Christ

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has given, have fitted his Doctrine, as if it had been a leaden Rule, to their Lives; that so some Way or other they might agree with one another. But I see no other Effect of this Compliance, except it be that Men become more secure in their Wickedness by it. And this is all the Success that I can have in a Court; for I must always differ from the rest; and then I shall signify nothing; or if I agree with them I shall then only help forward their Madness. I do not comprehend what you mean by your casting about, or by the bending and handling Things so dexterously, that if they go not well, they may go as little ill as may be: For in Courts they will not bear with a Man's holding his Peace, or conniving at what others do: A Man must bare-facedly approve of the worst Councils, and consent to the blackest Designs: So that he would pass for a Spy, or possibly for a Traytor, that did but coldly approve of such wicked Practices: And therefore when a Man is engaged in such a Society, he will be so far from being able to mend Matters by his casting about, as you call it, that he will find no Occasions of doing any good: The ill Company will sooner corrupt him, than be the better for him: Or if notwithstanding all their ill Company, he still remains steady and innocent, yet their Follies and Knavery will be imputed to him; and by mixing Councils with them, he must bear his Share of all the Blame that belongs wholly to others.

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It was no ill Simile, by which *Plato* set forth the Unreasonableness of a Philosopher's meddling with Government. If a Man, says he, was to see a great Company run out every Day into the Rain, and take delight in being wet; if he knew that it would be to no purpose for him to go and persuade them to return to their Houses, in order to avoid the Storm, and that all that could be expected by his going to speak to them, would be that he himself should be as wet as they, it would be best for him to keep within Doors; and since he had not Influence enough to correct other Peoples Folly, to take Care to preserve himself.

Tho' to speak plainly my real Sentiments, I must freely own, that as long as there is any Property, and while Money is the Standard of all other Things, I cannot think that a Nation can be governed either justly or happily: Not justly, because the best Things will fall to the Share of the worst Men: Nor happily, because all things will be divided among a few, (and even these are not in all respects happy) the rest being left to be absolutely miserable. Therefore when I reflect on the wise and good Constitution of the *Utopians*, among whom all Things are so well governed, and with so few Laws; where Virtue hath its due Reward, and yet there is such an Equality, that every Man lives in Plenty. When I compare with them so many other Nations that are still making new Laws, and yet can never bring their Constitution

48 Sir *THOMAS MORE's*

stitution to a right Regulation, where notwithstanding every one has his Property ; yet all the Laws that they can invent have not the Power either to obtain or preserve it, or even to enable Men certainly to distinguish what is their own from what is another's ; of which the many Law-Suits that every Day break out, and are eternally depending, give too plain a Demonstration : When, I say, I ballance all these Things in my Thoughts, I grow more favourable to *Plato*, and do not wonder that he resolved, not to make any Laws for such as would not submit to a Community of all Things : For so wise a Man, could not but foresee that the setting all upon a Level, was the only Way to make a Nation happy ; which cannot be obtained so long as there is Property : For when every Man draws to himself all that he can compass, by one Title or another, it must needs follow, that how plentiful soever a Nation may be, yet a few dividing the Wealth of it among themselves, the rest must fall into Indigence. So that there will be two Sorts of People among them, who deserve that their Fortunes should be interchanged ; the former useless, but wicked and ravenous ; and the latter, who by their constant Industry serve the Publick more than themselves, sincere and modest Men. From whence I am persuaded, that till Property is taken away, there can be no equitable or just Distribution of Things, nor can the World be happily

governed :

governed : for as long as that is maintained, the greatest and the far best Part of Mankind, will be still oppressed with a Load of Cares and Anxieties. I confess without taking it quite away, those Pressures that lie on a great Part of Mankind, may be made lighter ; but they can never be quite removed. For if Laws were made to determine at how great an extent in Soil, and at how much Money every Man must stop, to limit the Prince that he might not grow too great, and to restrain the People that they might not become too insolent, and that none might factiously aspire to publick Employments ; which ought neither to be sold, nor made burthensome by a great Expence ; since otherwise those that serve in them, would be tempted to reimburse themselves by Cheats and Violence, and it would become necessary to find out rich Men for undergoing those Employments which ought rather to be trusted to the Wise. These Laws, I say, might have such Effects, as good Diet and Care might have on a sick Man, whose Recovery is desperate : They might allay and mitigate the Disease, but it could never be quite healed, nor the Body Politick be brought again to a good Habit, as long as Property remains ; and it will fall out as in a Complication of Diseases, that by applying a Remedy to one Sore, you will provoke another ; and that which removes the one ill Symptom produces others, while the strengthening

ning one Part of the Body weakens the rest. On the contrary, answered I, it seems to me that Men cannot live conveniently, where all Things are common : How can there be any Plenty, where every Man will excuse himself from Labour ? For as the Hope of Gain doth not excite him, so the Confidence that he has in other Men's Industry, may make him slothful : If People come to be pinched with Want, and yet cannot dispose of any Thing as their own ; what can follow upon this, but perpetual Sedition and Bloodshed, especially when the Reverence and Authority due to Magistrates falls to the Ground ? For I cannot imagine how that can be kept up among those that are in all Things equal to one another. I do not wonder, said he, that it appears so to you, since you have no Notion, or at least no right one, of such a Constitution : But if you had been in *Utopia* with me, and had seen their Laws and Rules, as I did, for the Space of five Years, in which I lived among them ; and during which time I was so delighted with them, that indeed I should never have left them, if it had not been to make the Discovery of that new World to the *Europeans* ; you would then confess that you had never seen a People so well constituted as they. You will not easily persuade me, said *Peter*, that any Nation in that new World is better governed than those among us. For as our Understandings are not worse than theirs, so our Government,

vernment, if I mistake not, being more antient, a long Practice has helped us to find out many Conveniencies of Life: And some happy Chances have discovered other Things to us, which no Man's Understanding could ever have invented. As for the Antiquity, either of their Government, or of ours, said he, you cannot pass a true Judgment of it, unless you had read their Histories; for if they are to be believed, they had Towns among them, before these Parts were so much as inhabited: And as for those Discoveries, that have been either hit on by Chance, or made by ingenious Men, these might have happened there as well as here. I do not deny but we are more ingenious than they are, but they exceed us much in Industry and Application. They knew little concerning us, before our Arrival among them; they call us all by a general Name of the Nations that lie beyond the Equinoctial Line; for their Chronicle mentions a Shipwreck that was made on their Coast 1200 Years ago; and that some *Romans* and *Egyptians* that were in the Ship, getting safe ashore, spent the rest of their Days amongst them; and such was their Ingenuity, that from this single Opportunity, they drew the Advantage of Learning from those unlook'd for Guests, and acquired all the useful Arts that were then among the *Romans*, and which were known to these Shipwreck'd Men: And by the Hints that they gave them, they themselves found out

out even some of those Arts which they could not fully explain; so happily did they improve that Accident, of having some of our People cast upon their Shore. But if such an Accident has at any Time brought any from thence into *Europe*, we have been so far from improving it, that we do not so much as remember it; as in after Times perhaps it will be forgot by our People that I was ever there. For though they from one such Accident, made themselves Masters of all the good Inventions that were among us; yet I believe it would be long before we should learn or put in Practice any of the good Institutions that are among them: And this is the true Cause of their being better governed, and living happier than we, though we come not short of them in Point of Understanding, or outward Advantages. Upon this I said to him, I earnestly beg you would describe that Island very particularly to us. Be not too short, but set out in order all Things relating to their Soil, their Rivers, their Towns, their People, their Manners, Constitution, Laws, and in a Word, all that you imagine we desire to know: And you may well imagine that we desire to know every Thing concerning them, of which we are hitherto ignorant. I will do it very willingly, said he, for I have digested the whole Matter carefully; but it will take up some Time. | Let us go then, said I, first and dine, and then we shall have Leisure enough. He consented.

We

We went in and dined, and after Dinner came back, and sat down in the same Place. I ordered my Servants to take Care that none might come and interrupt us : And both *Peter* and I desired *Raphael* to be as good as his Word : When he saw that we were very intent upon it, he paused a little to recollect himself, and began in this Manner.

The Second B O O K.

THE Island of *Utopia*, is in the Middle two hundred Miles broad, and holds almost at the same Breadth over a great Part of it ; but it grows narrower towards both Ends. Its Figure is not unlike a Crescent : Between its Horns, the Sea comes in eleven Miles broad, and spreads itself into a great Bay, which is environed with Land to the Compass of about five Hundred Miles, and is well secured from Winds : In this Bay there is no great Current, the whole Coast is, as it were, one continued Harbour, which gives all that live in the Island great Convenience for mutual Commerce : But the Entry into the Bay, occasioned by Rocks on the one Hand, and Shallows on the other, is very dangerous. In the Middle of it there is one single Rock which appears above Water, and may therefore easily be avoided,

54 Sir THOMAS MORE's

avoided, and on the Top of it there is a Tower in which a Garrison is kept, the other Rocks lie under Water, and are very dangerous. The Channel is known only to the Natives, so that if any Stranger should enter into the Bay, without one of their Pilots, he would run great Danger of Shipwreck: For even they themselves could not pass it safe, if some Marks that are on the Coast did not direct their Way; and if these should be but a little shifted, any Fleet that might come against them, how great soever it were, would be certainly lost. On the other Side of the Island, there are likewise many Harbours; and the Coast is so fortified, both by Nature and Art, that a small Number of Men can hinder the Descent of a great Army. But they report (and there remains good Marks of it to make it credible) that this was no Island at first, but a Part of the Continent. *Utopus* that conquered it (whose Name it still carries, for *Abraxa* was its first Name) brought the rude and uncivilized Inhabitants into such a good Government, and to that Measure of Politeness, that they now far excell all the rest of Mankind; having soon subdued them, he designed to separate them from the Continent, and to bring the Sea quite round them. To accomplish this, he ordered a deep Channel to be dug fifteen Miles long; and that the Natives might not think he treated them like Slaves, he not only forced the Inhabitants, but also his own Soldiers,

Soldiers, to labour in carrying it on. As he set a vast Number of Men to work, he beyond all Mens Expectations brought it to a speedy Conclusion. And his Neighbours who at first laughed at the Folly of the Undertaking, no sooner saw it brought to Perfection, than they were struck with Admiration and Terror.

There are fifty-four Cities in the Island, all large and well built: The Manners, Customs, and Laws of which are the same, and they are all contrived as near in the same Manner as the Ground on which they stand will allow: The nearest lie at least twenty-four Miles Distance from one another, and the most remote are not so far distant, but that a Man can go on Foot in one Day from it, to that which lies next it. Every City sends three of their wisest Senators once a Year to *Amaurot*, to consult about their common Concerns; for that is chief Town of the Island, being situated near the Center of it, so that it is the most convenient Place for their Assemblies. The Jurisdiction of every City extends at least twenty Miles: And where the Towns lie wider, they have much more Ground: No Town desires to enlarge its Bounds, for the People consider themselves rather as Tenants than Landlords. They have built over all the Country, Farm-Houses for Husbandmen, which are well contrived, and are furnished with all Things necessary for Country Labour. Inhabitants are sent
by

by Turns from the Cities to dwell in them ; no Country Family has fewer than forty Men and Women in it, besides two Slaves. There is a Master and a Mistress set over every Family ; and over thirty Families there is a Magistrate. Every Year twenty of this Family come back to the Town, after they have stayed two Years in the Country : And in their Room there are other twenty sent from the Town, that they may learn country Work, from those that have been already one Year in the Country, as they must teach those that come to them the next from the Town. By this Means such as dwell in those country Farms, are never ignorant of Agriculture, and so commit no Errors, which might otherwise be fatal, and bring them under a Scarcity of Corn. But tho' there is every Year such a shifting of the Husbandmen, to prevent any Man being forced against his Will to follow that hard Course of Life too long ; yet many among them take such Pleasure in it, that they desire Leave to continue in it many Years. These Husbandmen till the Ground, breed Cattle, hew Wood, and convey it to the Towns, either by Land or Water, as is most convenient. They breed an infinite Multitude of Chickens in a very curious Manner : For the Hens do not sit and hatch them ; but vast Number of Eggs are laid in a gentle and equal Heat, in order to be hatched ; and they are no sooner out of the Shell, and able to stir about, but they

they seem to consider those that feed them as their Mothers, and follow them as other Chickens do the Hen that hatched them. They breed very few Horses, but those they have, are full of Mettle, and are kept only for exercising their Youth in the Art of sitting and riding them; for they do not put them to any Work, either of plowing or Carriage, in which they employ Oxen; for though their Horses are stronger, yet they find Oxen can hold out longer; and as they are not subject to so many Diseases, so they are kept upon a less Charge, and with less Trouble: And even when they are so worn out, that they are no more fit for Labour, they are good Meat at last. They sow no Corn, but that which is to be their Bread; for they drink either Wine, Cyder or Perry, and often Water, sometimes boiled with Honey or Liqueurish, with which they abound; and tho' they know exactly how much Corn will serve every Town, and all that Tract of Country which belongs to it, yet they sow much more, and breed more Cattle than are necessary for their Consumption: And they give that Overplus of which they make no Use to their Neighbours. When they want any Thing in the Country which it does not produce, they fetch that from the Town, without carrying any Thing in Exchange for it: And the Magistrates of the Town take Care to see it given them: For they meet generally in the Town once a Month, upon a

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Festival

Festival Day. When the Time of Harvest comes, the Magistrates in the Country send to those in the Towns, and let them know how many Hands they will need for reaping the Harvest; and the Number they call for being sent to them, they commonly dispatch it all in one Day.

Of their Towns, particularly of Amaurot.

HE that knows one of their Towns, knows them all, they are so like one another, except where the Situation makes some difference. I shall therefore describe one of them; and none is so proper as *Amaurot*: For as none is more eminent, all the rest yielding in Precedence to this, because it is the Seat of their supreme Council; so there was none of them better known to me, I having lived five Years altogether in it.

It lies upon the Side of a Hill, or rather a rising Ground: Its Figure is almost Square, for from the one Side of it, which shoots up almost to the Top of the Hill, it runs down in a Descent for two Miles to the River *Anider*; but it is a little broader the other Way that runs along by the Bank of that River. The *Anider* rises about eighty Miles above *Amaurot*, in a small Spring at first; but other Brooks falling into it, of which two are more considerable than the rest: As it runs by *Amaurot*, it is grown half a Mile broad,

but

but it still grows larger and larger, till after sixty Miles Course below it, it is lost in the Ocean. between the Town and the Sea, and for some Miles above the Town, it ebbs and flows every six Hours, with a strong Current. The Tide comes up for about thirty Miles so full, that there is nothing but Salt-water in the River, the fresh Water being driven back with its Force; and above that, for some Miles, the Water is brackish, but a little higher, as it runs by the Town, it is quite fresh; and when the Tide ebbs, it continues fresh all along to the Sea. There is a Bridge cast over the River, not of Timber, but of fair Stone, consisting of many stately Arches; it lies at that Part of the Town which is farthest from the Sea, so that Ships without any Hindrance lie all along the Side of the Town. There is likewise another River that runs by it, which though it is not great, yet it runs pleasantly, for it rises out of the same Hill on which the Town stands, and so runs down through it, and falls into the *Anider*. The Inhabitants have fortified the Fountain-head of this River, which springs a little without the Towns; that so if they should happen to be besieged, the Enemy might not be able to stop or divert the Course of the Water, nor poison it; from thence it is carried in earthen Pipes to the lower Streets: And for those Places of the Town to which the Water of that small River cannot be conveyed, they have great

Cisterns for receiving the Rain-water, which supplies the Want of the other. The Town is compassed with a high and thick Wall, in which there are many Towers and Forts; there is also a broad and deep dry Ditch, set thick with Thorns, cast round three Sides of the Town, and the River is instead of a Ditch on the fourth Side. The Streets are very convenient for all Carriage, and are well sheltered from the Winds. Their Buildings are good, and are so uniform, that a whole Side of a Street looks like one House. The Streets are twenty Feet broad; there lie Gardens behind all their Houses; these are large but enclosed with Buildings, that on all Hands face the Streets; so that every House has both a Door to the Street, and a back Door to the Garden: Their Doors have all two Leaves, which as they are easily opened, so they shut of their own Accord; and there being no Property among them, every Man may freely enter into any House whatsoever. At every ten Years end they shift their Houses by Lots. They cultivate their Gardens with great Care, so that they have both Vines, Fruits, Herbs and Flowers in them; and all is so well ordered, and so finely kept, that I never saw Gardens any where that were both so fruitful and so beautiful as theirs. And this Humour of ordering their Gardens so well, is not only kept up by the Pleasure they find in it, but also by an Emulation between the Inhabitants of the several Streets,

Streets, who vie with each other ; and there is indeed nothing belonging to the whole Town, that is both more useful, and more pleasant. So that he who founded the Town, seems to have taken Care of nothing more than of their Gardens ; for they say, the whole Scheme of the Town was designed at first by *Utopus*, but he left all that belonged to the Ornament and Improvement of it, to be added by those that should come after him, that being too much for one Man to bring to Perfection. Their Records, that contain the History of their Town and State, are preserved with an exact Care, and run backwards 1760 Years. From these it appears, that their Houses were at first low and mean, like Cottages, made of any Sort of Timber, and were built with Mud Walls, and thatch'd with Straw : But now their Houses are three Stories high, the Fronts of them are faced either with Stone, Plaistering, or Brick ; and between the Facings of their Walls, they throw in their Rubbish ; their Roofs are flat, and on them they lay a Sort of Plaister which costs very little, and yet is so tempered, that it is not apt to take Fire, and yet resists the Weather more than Lead. They have great Quantities of Glafs among them, with which they glaze their Windows : They use also in their Windows, a thin linen Cloth, that is so oiled or gummed, that it both keeps out the Wind, and gives free Admission to the Light.

Of their Magistrates.

THIRTY Families choose every Year a Magistrate, who was anciently called the *Syphogrant*, but is now called the *Philarch*: and over every ten *Syphogrants* with the Families subject to them, there is another Magistrate, who was anciently called the *Tranibore*, but of late the *Archphilarch*. All the *Syphogrants*, who are in Number 200, choose the Prince out of a List of four, who are named by the People of the four Divisions of the City, but they take an Oath before they proceed to an Election, that they will choose him whom they think most fit for the Office: They give their Voices secretly, so that it is not known for whom every One gives his Suffrage. The Prince is for Life, unless he is removed upon suspicion of some Design to enslave the People. The *Tranibors* are new chosen every Year, but yet they are for the most Part continued: All their other Magistrates are only annual. The *Tranibors* meet every third Day, and oftner if necessary, and consult with the Prince, either concerning the Affairs of the State in General, or such private Differences as may arise sometimes among the People; tho' that falls out but seldom. There are always two *Syphogrants* called into the Council-Chamber, and these are changed every Day. It is a fundamental

tal Rule of their Government, that no Conclusion can be made in any Thing that relates to the Publick, till it has been first debated three several Days in their Council. It is Death for any to meet and consult concerning the State, unless it be either in their ordinary Council, or in the Assembly of the whole Body of the People.

These Things have been so provided among them, that the Prince and the *Tranibors* may not conspire together to change the Government, and enslave the People; and therefore when any Thing of great Importance is set on Foot, it is sent to the *Syphagrants*; who after they have communicated it to the Families that belong to their Divisions, and have considered it among themselves, make Report to the Senate; and upon great Occasions, the Matter is referred to the Council of the whole Island. One Rule observed in their Council, is, never to debate a Thing on the same Day in which it is first proposed; for that is always referred to the next Meeting, that so men may not rashly, and in the Heat of Discourse, engage themselves too soon, which might bias them so much, that instead of consulting the Good of the Publick, they might rather study to support their first Opinions; and by a perverse and preposterous Sort of Shame, hazard their Country, rather than endanger their own Reputation, or venture the being suspected to have wanted Foresight in the Expedients that they at first proposed.

And therefore to prevent this, they take Care that they may rather be deliberate, than sudden in their Motions.

Of their Trades, and Manner of Life.

Agriculture is that which is so universally understood among them, that no Person either Man or Woman, is ignorant of it; they are instructed in it from their Childhood, partly by what they learn at School, and partly by Practice; they being led out often into the Fields, about the Town, where they not only see others at Work, but are likewise exercised in it themselves. Besides Agriculture, which is so common to them all, every Man has some peculiar Trade to which he applies himself, such as the Manufacture of Wool, or Flax, Masonry, Smith's Work, or Carpenter's Work; for there is no Sort of Trade that is in great Esteem among them. Throughout the Island they wear the same Sort of Clothes without any other Distinction, except what is necessary to distinguish the two Sexes, and the married and unmarried. The Fashion never alters; and as it is neither disagreeable nor uneasy, so it is suited to the Climate, and calculated both for their Summers and Winters. Every Family makes their own Clothes; but all among them, Women as well Men, learn one or other of the Trades formerly mentioned.

mentioned. Women, for the most Part, deal in Wood and Flax, which suit best with their Weakness, leaving the ruder Trades to the Men. The same Trade generally passes down from Father to Son, Inclinations often following Descent: But if any Man's Genius lies another Way, he is by Adoption translated into a Family that deals in the Trade to which he is inclined: And when that is to be done, Care is taken not only by his Father, but by the Magistrate, that he may be put to a discreet and good Man. And if after a Person has learned one Trade, he desires to acquire another, that is also allowed, and is managed in the same manner as the former. When he has learn'd both, he follows that which he likes best, unless the Public has more Occasion for the other.

The chief, and almost the only Business of the *Syphogrants*, is to take Care that no Man may live idle, but that every may follow his Trade diligently: Yet they do not wear themselves out with perpetual Toil, from Morning to Night, as if they were Beasts of Burden, which as it is indeed a heavy Slavery, so it is every where the common Course of Life amongst all Mechanics except the *Utopians*: But they dividing the Day and Night into twenty-four Hours, appoint six of these for Work; three of which are before Dinner; and three after: They then sup, and at eight o'Clock, counting from Noon, go to Bed and sleep eight

Hours. The rest of their Time besides that taken up in Work, eating and sleeping is left to every Man's Discretion; yet they are not to abuse that Interval to Luxury and Idleness, but must employ it in some proper Exercise according to their various Inclinations, which is for the most Part reading. It is ordinary to have publick Lectures every Morning before Day-break; at which none are obliged to appear, but those who are mark'd out for Literature; yet a great many, both Men and Women of all Ranks, go to hear Lectures of one Sort or other, according to their Inclinations. But if others, that are not made for Contemplation, choose rather to employ themselves at that Time in their Trades, as many of them do, they are not hindered, but are rather commended, as Men that take Care to serve their Country. After Supper, they spend an Hour in some Diversion, in Summer in their Gardens, and in Winter in the Halls where they eat; where they entertain each other, either with Musick or Discourse. They do not so much as know Dice, or any such foolish and mischievous Games: They have, however, two Sorts of Games not unlike our Chess; the one is between several Numbers, in which one Number, as it were consumes another: The other resembles a Battle between the Virtues and the Vices, in which the Enmity in the Vices among themselves, and their Agreement against Virtue is not unpleasantly represented;

ed ; together with the special Oppositions between the particular Virtues and Vices ; as also the Methods by which Vice either openly assaults, or secretly undermines Virtue ; and Virtue on the other Hand resists it. But the Time appointed for Labour, is to be narrowly examined, otherwise you may imagine, that since there are only six Hours appointed for Work, they may fall under a Scarcity of necessary Provisions. But it is so far from being true, that this Time is not sufficient for supplying them with Plenty of all Things, either necessary or convenient ; that it is rather too much ; and this you will easily apprehend, if you consider how great a Part of all other Nations is quite idle. First, Women generally do little, who are the half of Mankind ; and if some few Women are diligent, their Husbands are idle : Then consider the great Company of idle Priests, and of those that are called religious Men ; add to these all rich Men, chiefly those that have Estates in Land, who are called Noblemen and Gentlemen, together with their Families, made up of idle Persons, that are kept more for shew than use. Add to these, all those strong and lusty Beggars, that go about pretending some Disease, in Excuse for their Begging ; and upon the whole Account you will find, that the Number of those by whose Labours Mankind is supplied, is much less than you perhaps imagined : Then consider how few of those that work, are employed in Labours that are of real Service :

Service: For we who measure all Things by Money, give rise to many Trades that are both vain and superfluous, and serve only to support Riot and Luxury. For if those who work, were employed only in such Things as the Conveniencies of Life require, there would be such an Abundance of them, that the Prices of them would so sink, that Tradesmen could not be maintained by their Gains; if all those who labour about useless Things, were set to more profitable Employments; and if all they that languish out their Lives in Sloth and Idleness, every one of whom consumes as much as any two of the Men that are at Work, were forced to labour, you may easily imagine that a small Proportion of Time would serve for doing all that is either necessary, profitable, or pleasant to Mankind, especially while Pleasure is kept within its due Bounds: This appears very plainly in *Utopia*, for there, in a great City, and in all the Territory that lies round it, you can scarce find five hundred, either Men or Women, by their Age and Strength, are capable of Labour, that are not engaged in it; even the *Syphogrants* though excused by the Law, yet do not excuse themselves, but work, that by their Examples they may excite the Industry of the rest of the People; the like Exemption is allowed to those, who being recommended to the People by the Priests, are by the secret Suffrages of the *Syphogrants*, privileged from Labour, that they may
 apply

apply themselves wholly to Study; and if any of these fall short of those Hopes that they seemed at first to give, they are obliged to return to Work. And sometimes a Mechanick, that so employs his Leisure Hours, as to make a considerable Advancement in Learning, is eased from being a Tradesman, and ranked among their learned Men. Out of these they choose their Ambassadors, their Priests, their *Tranibors*, and the Prince himself; ciently called their *Barzenes*, but is called of late their *Ademus*.

And thus from the great Numbers among them, that are neither suffered to be idle, nor to be employed in any fruitless Labour; you may easily make the Estimate, how much may be done in those few Hours in which they are obliged to labour. But besides all that has been already said, it is to be considered, that the needful Arts among them, are managed with less Labour than any where else. The Building, or the repairing of Houses among us, employ many Hands, because often a thriftless Heir suffers a House that his Father built, to fall into Decay, so that his Successor must, at a great cost, repair that which he might have kept up with a small Charge: It frequently happens, that the same House which one Person built at a vast Expence, is neglected by another, who thinks he has a more delicate sense of the Beauties of Architecture; and he suffering it to fall to ruin,
builds

builds another at no less Charge. But among the *Utopians*, all Things are so regulated, that Men very seldom build upon a new Piece of Ground; and are not only very quick in repairing their Houses, but shew their Foresight in preventing their Decay: So that their Buildings are preserved very long, with but little Labour; And thus the Builders to whom that Care belongs, are often without Imployment, except the hewing of Timber, and the squaring of Stones, that the Materials may be in Readiness for raising a Building very suddenly, when there is any Occasion for it. As to their Cloaths, observe how little Work is spent in them: While they are at Labour, they are cloathed with Leather and Skins, cast carelessly about them, which will last seven Years; and when they appear in publick, they put on an upper Garment, which hides the other: And these are all of one Colour, and that is the natural Colour of the Wool. As they need less woollen Cloth than is used any where else, so that which they make use of is much less costly. They use Linen Cloth more; but that is prepared with less Labour, and they value Cloth only by the Whiteness of the Linen, or the Cleaness of the Wool, without much Regard to the Fineness of the Thread: While in other Places, four or five upper Garments of woollen Cloth, of different Colours, and as many Vests of Silk will scarce serve one Man; and while
those

those that are nicer think ten too few; every Man there is content with one, which very often serves him two Years. Nor is there any Thing that can tempt a Man to desire more; for if he had them, he would neither be the warmer, nor would he make one Jot the better Appearance for it. And thus, since they are all employed in some useful Labour; and since they content themselves with fewer Things, it falls out that there is a great Abundance of all Things among them: So that it frequently happens, that for want of other Work, vast Numbers are sent out to mend the Highways. But when no publick Undertaking is to be performed, the Hours of working are lessened. The Magistrates never engage the People in unnecessary Labour, since the chief End of the Constitution is to regulate Labour by the Necessities of the Publick, and to allow all the People as much Time as is necessary for the Improvement of their Minds, in which, they think the Happiness of Life consists.

Of their Traffick.

BUT it is now Time to explain to you the mutual intercourse of this People, their Commerce, and the Rules by which all Things are distributed among them.

As their Cities are composed of Families, so their Families are made up of those that are nearly related to one another. Their Women, when they grow up, are married out; but all the Males, both Children and Grandchildren, live still in the same House, in great Obedience to their common Parent, unless Age has weakened his Understanding; and in that Case he that is next to him in Age, comes in his Room. But lest any City should become either too great, or by any Accident be dispeopled, provision is made that none of their Cities may contain above six thousand Families, besides those of the Country round it. No Family may have less than ten, and more than sixteen Persons in it; but there can be no determined Number for the Children under Age. This Rule is easily observed, by removing some of the Children of a more fruitful Couple, to any other Family that does not abound so much in them. By the same Rule, they supply Cities that do not encrease so fast, from others that breed faster: And if there is any increase over the whole Island, then they draw out a Number of their Citizens out of the several Towns, and send them over to the neighbouring Continent; where, if they find that the Inhabitants have more Soil than they can well cultivate, they fix a Colony, taking the Inhabitants into their Society, if they are willing to live with them; and where they do that of their own accord, they quickly enter into their

Method

Method of Life, and conform to their Rules, and this proves a Happiness to both Nations: For according to their Constitution, such Care is taken of the Soil, that it becomes fruitful enough for both, tho' it might be otherwise too narrow and barren for any one of them. But if the Natives refuse to conform themselves to their Laws, they drive them out of those Bounds which they mark out for themselves, and use Force if they resist. For they account it a very just Cause of War, for a Nation to hinder others from possessing a Part of that Soil, of which they make no Use, but which is suffered to lie idle and uncultivated; since every Man has by the Law of Nature a Right to such a waste Portion of the Earth, as is necessary for his Subsistence. If an Accident has so lessened the Number of the Inhabitants of any of their Towns, that it cannot be made up from the other Towns of the Island, without diminishing them too much, which is said to have fallen out but twice, since they were first a People, when great Numbers were carried off by the Plague; the Loss is then supplied by recalling as many as are wanted from their Colonies; for they will abandon these, rather than suffer the Towns in the Island to sink too low.

But to return to their Manner of living in Society, the oldest Man of every Family, as has been already said, is its Governor. Wives serve their Husbands, and Children their Parents, and
always

always the Younger serves the Elder. Every City is divided into four equal Parts, and in the Middle of each there is a Market-place: What is brought thither, and manufactured by the several Families, is carried from thence to Houses appointed for that Purpose, in which all Things of a Sort are laid by themselves; and thither every Father goes and takes whatsoever he or his Family stand in need of, without either paying for it, or leaving any Thing in Exchange. There is no Reason for giving a denial to any Person, since there is such Plenty of every Thing among them: And there is no Danger of a Man's asking for more than he needs; they have no Inducements to do this, since they are sure that they shall always be supplied: It is the Fear of Want that makes any of the whole Race of Animals, either greedy or ravenous; but besides Fear, there is in Man a Pride that makes him fancy it a particular Glory to excel others in Pomp and Excess. But by the Laws of the *Utopians*, there is no Room for this. Near these Markets there are others for all Sorts of Provisions, where there are not only Herbs, Fruits, and Bread, but also Fish, Fowl, and Cattle. There are also without their Towns, Places appointed near some running Water, for killing their Beasts, and for washing away their Filth; which is done by their Slaves: for they suffer none of their Citizens to kill their Cattle, because they think, that Pity and good Nature,

which

which are among the best of those Affections that are born with us, are much impaired by the butchering of Animals : Nor do they suffer any thing that is foul or unclean to be brought within their Towns, lest the Air should be infected by ill Smells which might prejudice their Health. In every Street there are great Halls that lie at an equal Distance from each other, distinguished by particular Names. The *Syphogrants* dwell in those, that are set over thirty Families, fifteen lying on one Side of it, and as many on the other. In these Halls they all meet and have their Repasts. The Stewards of every one of them come to the Market-place at an appointed Hour; and according to the Number of those that belong to the Hall, they carry home Provisions. But they take more Care of their Sick, than of any others : These are lodg'd and provided for in publick Hospitals : They have belonging to every Town four Hospitals, that are built without their Walls, and are so large, that they may pass for little Towns : By this Means, if they had ever such a Number of sick Persons, they could lodge them conveniently, and at such a Distance, that such of them as are sick of infectious Diseases, may be kept so far from the rest, that there can be no Danger of Contagion. The Hospitals are furnished and stored with all Things that are convenient for the Ease and Recovery of the Sick ; and those that are put in them, are looked after with such tender

der and watchful Care, and are so constantly attended by their skilful Physicians; that as none is sent to them against their Will, so there is scarce one in a whole Town, that if he should fall ill, would not choose rather to go thither, than lie sick at Home.

After the Steward of the Hospitals has taken for the Sick whatsoever the Physician prescribes, then the best Things that are left in the Market are distributed equally among the Halls, in proportion to their Numbers, only, in the first Place, they serve the Prince, the Chief Priest, the *Tranibors*, the Ambassadors, and Strangers, if there are any, which indeed falls out but seldom, and for whom there are Houses well furnished, particularly appointed for their Reception when they come among them. At the Hours of Dinner and Supper, the whole Syphogranty being called together by Sound of Trumpet, they meet and eat together, except only such as are in the Hospitals, or lie sick at Home. Yet after the Halls are served, no Man is hindred to carry Provisions Home from the Market-place; for they know that none does that but for some good Reason; for tho' any that will may eat at Home, yet none does it willingly, since it is both ridiculous and foolish for any to give themselves the Trouble to make ready an ill Dinner at Home, when there is a much more plentiful one made ready for him so near hand. All the
uneasy

uneasy and sordid Services about these Halls, are performed by their Slaves; but the dressing and cooking their Meat, and the ordering their Tables, belong only to the Women, all those of every Family taking it by Turns. They sit at three or more Tables, according to their Number; the Men sit towards the Wall, and the Women sit on the other Side, that if any of them should be taken suddenly ill, which is no uncommon Case amongst Women with Child, she may, without disturbing the rest, rise and go to the Nurse's Room, who are there with the sucking Children; where there is always clean Water at hand, and Cradles in which they may lay the young Children, if there is occasion for it, and a Fire that they may shift and dress them before it. Every Child is nursed by its own Mother, if Death or Sicknes does not intervene; and in that case the *Syphogrants* Wives find out a Nurse quickly, which is no hard matter; for any one that can do it, offers her self chearfully. For as they are much inclined to that Piece of Mercy, so the Child whom they nurse, considers the Nurse as its Mother. All the Children under five Years old, sit among the Nurses, the rest of the younger Sort of both Sexes, till they are fit for Marriage, either serve those that sit at Table; or if they are not strong enough for that, stand by them in great Silence, and eat what is given them; nor have they any other Formality

of

of dining: In the middle of the first Table, which stands across the upper End of the Hall, sit the *Syphogrant* and his Wife; for that is the chief and most conspicuous Place: Next to him sit two of the most ancient, for there go always four to a Mefs. If there is a Temple within that Syphogranty, the Priest and his Wife sit with the *Syphogrant* above all the rest: Next them there is a Mixture of Old and Young, who are so placed, that as the Young are set near others, so they are mixed with the more ancient; which they say was appointed on this Account, that the Gravity of the old People, and the Reverence that is due to them, might restrain the Younger from all indecent Words and Gestures. Dishes are not served up to the whole Table at first, but the best are first set before the Old, whose Seats are distinguished from the Young, and after them all the rest are served alike. The old Men distribute to the younger any curious Meats that happen to be set before them, if there is not such an Abundance of them that the whole Company may be served alike.

Thus old Men are honoured with a particular Respect; yet all the rest fare as well as they. Both Dinner and Supper are begun with some Lecture of Morality that is read to them; but it is so short, that it is not tedious nor uneasy to them to hear it: From hence the old Men take occasion to entertain those about them, with
some

some useful and pleasant Enlargements ; but they do not engross the whole Discourse so to themselves, during their Meals, that the Younger may not put in for a Share : On the contrary, they engage them to talk, that so they may in that free Way of Conversation, find out the Force of every one's Spirit, and observe his Temper. They dispatch their Dinners quickly, but sit long at Supper : because they go to work after the one, and are to sleep after the other, during which they think the Stomach carries on the Concoction more vigorously. They never sup without Musick ; and there is always Fruit served up after Meat ; while they are at Table, some burn Perfumes, and sprinkle about fragrant Ointments, and sweet Waters : In short they want nothing that may cheer up their Spirits : They give themselves a large Allowance that Way, and indulge themselves in all such Pleasures as are attended with no Inconvenience. Thus do those that are in the Towns live together ; but in the Country, where they live at great Distance, every one eats at home, and no Family wants any necessary Sort of Provision, for it is from them that Provisions are sent unto those that live in the Towns.

Of the Travelling of the UTOPIANS.

IF any Man has a mind to visit his Friends that live in some other Town, or desires to travel and see the rest of the Country, he obtains Leave very easily from the *Syphogrant* and *Tranibors*, when there is no particular Occasion for him at home : Such as travel, carry with them a Passport from the Prince, which both certifies the Licence that is granted for travelling, and limits the Time of their return. They are furnished with a Waggon and a Slave, who drives the Oxen, and looks after them: But unless there are Women in the Company, the Waggon is sent back at the End of the Journey as an needless Incumbrance : While they are on the Road, they carry no Provisions with them ; yet they want nothing, but are every where treated as if they were at Home. If they stay in any Place longer than a Night, every one follows his proper Occupation, and is very well used by those of his own Trade : But if any Man goes out of the City to which he belongs, without Leave, and is found rambling without a Passport, he is severely treated, he is punished as a Fugitive, and sent home disgracefully ; and if he falls again into the like Fault, is condemned to Slavery. If any Man has a mind to travel only over the Precinct of his own City, he may freely

freely do it, with his Father's Permission, and his Wife's Consent; but when he comes into any of the Country Houses, if he expects to be entertain'd by them, he must labour with them and conform to their Rules: And if he does this, he may freely go over the whole Precinct; being thus as useful to the City to which he belongs, as if he were still within it. Thus you see that there are no idle Persons among them, nor Pretences of excusing any from Labour. There are no Taverns, no Ale-Houses nor Stews among them; nor any other Occasions of corrupting each other, of getting into Corners, or forming themselves into Parties: All Men live in full View, so that all are obliged, both to perform their ordinary Task, and to employ themselves well in their spare Hours. And it is certain, that a People thus ordered, must live in great Abundance of all Things; and these being equally distributed among them, no Man can want, or be obliged to beg.

In their great Council at *Amaurot*, to which there are three sent from every Town once a Year, they examine what Towns abound in Provisions, and what are under any Scarcity, that so the one may be furnished from the other; and this is done freely, without any Sort of Exchange; for according to their Plenty or Scarcity, they supply, or are supplied from one another; so that indeed the whole Island is, as it were, one Family.

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When they have thus taken Care of their whole Country, and laid up Stores for two Years, which they do to prevent the ill Consequences of an unfavourable Season, they order an Exportation of the Overplus, both of Corn, Honey, Wooll, Flax, Wood, Wax, Tallow, Leather, and Cattle; which they send out commonly in great Quantities to other Nations. They order a seventh Part of all these Goods to be freely given to the Poor of the Countries to which they send them, and sell the rest at moderate Rates. And by this Exchange, they not only bring back those few Things that they need at Home (for indeed they scarce need any Thing but Iron) but likewise a great deal of Gold and Silver; and by their driving this Trade so long, it is not to be imagined how vast a Treasure they have got among them: So that now they do not much care whether they sell off their Merchandize for Money in Hand, or upon Trust. A great Part of their Treasure is now in Bonds; but in all their Contracts no private Man stands bound, but the Writing runs in the Name of the Town; and the Towns that owe them Money, raise it from those private Hands that owe it to them, lay it up in their publick Chamber, or enjoy the Profit of it till the *Utopians* call for it; and they choose rather to let the greatest part of it lie in their Hands, who make Advantage by it, than to call for it themselves: But if they see that any of their other

Neighbours

Neighbours stand more in need of it, then they call it in and lend it to them : Whenever they are engaged in War, which is the only Occasion in which their Treasure can be usefully employ'd, they make use of it themselves. In great Extremities or sudden Accidents they employ it in hiring foreign Troops, whom they more willingly expose to danger than their own People : They give them great Pay, knowing well that this will work even on their Enemies, that it will engage them either to betray their own Side, or at least to desert it, and that it is the best Means of raising mutual Jealousies among them : For this End they have an incredible Treasure ; but they do not keep it as a Treasure, but in such a Manner as I am almost afraid to tell, lest you think it so extravagant, as to be hardly credible. This I have the more Reason to apprehend, because if I had not seen it myself, I could not have been easily persuaded to have believed it upon any Man's Report.

It is certain that all Things appear incredible to us, in Proportion as they differ from own Customs. But one who can judge aright, will not wonder to find, that since their Constitution differs so much from ours, their Value of Gold and Silver should be measured by a very different Standard ; for since they have no use for Money among themselves, but keep it as a Provision against Events which seldom happen, and between which there

are generally long intervening Intervals ; they value it no farther than it deserves, that is, in Proportion to its use. So that it is plain, they must prefer Iron either to Gold or Silver : For Men can no more live without Iron, than without Fire or Water ; but Nature has mark'd out no Use for the other Metals, so essential as not easily to be dispensed with. The Folly of Men has enhanced the Value of Gold and Silver, because of their Scarcity. Whereas on the contrary, it is their Opinion, that Nature, as an indulgent Parent, has freely given us all the best Things in great Abundance, such as Water and Earth, but has laid up and hid from us the Things that are vain and useless.

If these Metals were laid up in any Tower in the Kingdom, it would raise a Jealousy of the Prince and Senate, and give Birth to that foolish Mistrust into which the People are apt to fall, a Jealousy of their intending to sacrifice the Interest of the Publick to their own private Advantage. If they should work it into Vessels, or any Sort of Plate, they fear that the People might grow too fond of it, and so be unwilling to let the Plate be run down, if a War made it necessary to employ it in paying their Soldiers. To prevent all these Inconveniencies, they have fallen upon an Expedient, which as it agrees with their other Policy, so is it very different from ours, and will scarce gain Belief among us, who value Gold so much, and lay it

up

up so carefully. They eat and drink out of Vessels of Earth, or Glass, which make an agreeable Appearance tho' formed of brittle Materials: while they make their Chamber-pots and Close-stools of Gold and Silver; and that not only in their publick Halls, but in their private Houses: Of the same Metals they likewise make Chains and Fetters for their Slaves; to some of which, as a Badge of Infamy, they hang an Ear-ring of Gold, and make others wear a Chain or a Coronet of the same Metal; and thus they take Care by all possible Means, to render Gold and Silver of no esteem: And from hence it is, that while other Nations part with their Gold and Silver, as unwillingly as if one tore out their Bowels, those of *Utopia* would look on their giving in all they possess of those (Metals, when there were any Use for them) but as the parting with a Trifle, or as we would esteem the Loss of a Penny. They find Pearls on their Coast; and Diamonds, and Carbuncles on their Rocks: They do not look after them; but if they find them by Chance, they polish them, and with them they adorn their Children, who are delighted with them, and glory in them during their Childhood; but when they grow to Years, and see that none but Children use such Baubles, they of their own accord, without being bid by their Parents, lay them aside; and would be as much ashamed to use them afterwards, as Children among us, when

they come to Years, are of their Puppets, and other Toys.

I never saw a clearer Instance of the opposite Impressions that different Customs make on People, than I observed in the Ambassadors of the *Anemolians*, who came to *Amaurot* when I was there: As they came to treat of Affairs of great Consequence, the Deputies from several Towns met together to wait for their Coming. The Ambassadors of the Nations that lie near *Utopia*, knowing their Customs, and that fine Cloaths are in no Esteem among them, that Silk is despised, and Gold is a Badge of Infamy, use to come very modestly cloathed; but the *Anemolians* lying more remote, and having had little Commerce with them, understanding that they were coarsly cloathed, and all in the same Manner, took it for granted that they had none of those fine Things among them of which they made no use; and they being a vain-glorious, rather than a wise People, resolved to set themselves out with so much Pomp, that they should look like Gods, and strike the Eyes of the poor *Utopians* with their Splendour. Thus three Ambassadors made their Entry with an hundred Attendants, all clad in Garments of different Colours, and the greater Part in Silk; the Ambassadors themselves, who were of the Nobility of their Country, were in Cloth of Gold, and adorned with massy Chains, Ear-rings and Rings of Gold: Their Caps were covered

covered with Bracelets set full of Pearls and other Gems: In a Word, they were set out with all those Things, that, among the *Utopians*, were either the Badges of Slavery, the Marks of Infamy, or the Play-things of Children. It was not unpleasant to see, on the one Side, how they look'd big, when they compared their rich Habits with the plain Cloaths of the *Utopians*, who were come out in great Numbers to see them make their Entry: And on the other, to observe how much they were mistaken in the Impression, which they hoped this Pomp would have made on them. It appeared so ridiculous to shew to all that had never stirr'd out of their Country, and had not seen the Customs of other Nations; that though they paid some Reverence to those that were the most meanly clad, as if they had been the Ambassadors, yet when they saw the Ambassadors themselves, so full of Gold and Chains, they look'd upon them as slaves, and forbore to treat them with Reverence. You might have seen the Children, who were grown big enough to despise their Play-Things, and who had thrown away their Jewels, call to their Mothers, push them gently, and cry out, "See that great Fool that wears Pearls and Gems, as if he were yet a Child." While their Mothers very innocently replied, "Hold your Peace, this I believe is one of the Ambassador's Fools." Others censured the Fashion of their Chains, and observed that they were of no use;

88 Sir THOMAS MORE's

for they were too slight to bind their Slaves, who could easily break them; and besides hung, so loose about them, that they thought it easy to throw them away, and so get from them. But after the Ambassadors had staid a Day among them, and saw so vast a Quantity of Gold in their Houses, which was as much despised by them, as it was esteemed in other Nations, and beheld more Gold and Silver in the Chains and Fetters of one Slave, than all their Ornaments amounted to, their Plumes fell, and they were ashamed of all that Glory for which they had formerly valued themselves, and accordingly laid it aside: A Resolution that they immediately took, when on their engaging in some free Discourse with the *Utopians*, they discovered their Sense of such Things, and their other Customs. The *Utopians* wonder how any Man should be so much taken with the glaring doubtful Lustre of a Jewel or a Stone, that can look up to a Star, or to the Sun himself; or how any should value himself, because his Cloth is made of a finer Thread: For how fine soever that Thread may be, it was once no better than the Fleece of a Sheep, and that Sheep was a Sheep still for all its wearing it. They wonder much to hear, that Gold which in itself is so useless a Thing, should be every where so much esteemed, that even Men for whom it was made, and by whom it has its Value, should yet be thought of less Value than this Metal: That
a Man

a Man of Lead, who has no more Sense than a Log of Wood, and is as bad as he is foolish, should have many wise and good Men to serve him, only because he has a great Heap of that Metal; and that if it should happen, that by some Accident, or Trick of Law, (which sometimes produces as great Changes as Chance itself) all this Wealth should pass from the Master to the meanest Varlet of his whole Family, he himself would very soon become one of his Servants, as if he were a Thing that belonged to his Wealth, and so were bound to follow its Fortune. But they much more admire and detest the Folly of those who when they see a rich Man, though they neither owe him any Thing, nor are in any sort dependant on his Bounty, yet merely because he is rich, give him little less than divine Honours; even though they know him to be so covetous and base minded, that notwithstanding all his Wealth, he will not part with one Farthing of it to them, as long as he lives.

These and such like Notions has that People imbib'd, partly from their Education, being bred in a Country, whose Customs and Laws are opposite to all such foolish Maxims: And partly from their Learning and Studies: for though there are but few in any Town that are so wholly excused from Labour, as to give themselves entirely up to their Studies, these being only such Persons as discover from their Childhood an ex-

traordinary Capacity and Disposition for Letters ; yet their Children, and a great Part of the Nation, both Men and Women, are taught to spend those Hours in which they are not obliged to work, in Reading : And this they do through the whole Progress of Life. They have all their Learning in their own Tongue ; which is both a copious and pleasant Language, and in which a Man can fully express his Mind : It runs over a great Tract of many Countries, but it is not equally pure in all Places : They had never so much as heard of the Names of any of those Philosophers that are so famous in these Parts of the World, before we went among them : And yet they had made the same Discoveries as the *Greeks*, both in Musick, Logick, Arithmetick, and Geometry. But as they are almost in every Thing equal to the ancient Philosophers, so they far exceed our modern Logicians ; for they have never yet fallen upon the barbarous Niceties that our Youth are forced to learn in those trifling logical Schools that are among us : They are so far from minding Chimeras, and fantastical Images made in the Mind, that none of them could comprehend what we meant, when we talked to them of a Man in the Abstract, as common to all Men in particular, (so that though we spoke of him as a Thing that we could point at with our Fingers, yet none of them could perceive him) and yet distinct from every one, as if he were

were some monstrous Colossus, or Giant. Yet for all this Ignorance of these empty Notions, they knew Astronomy, and were perfectly acquainted with the Motions of the heavenly Bodies; and have many Instruments, well contrived and divided, by which they very accurately compute the Course and Positions of the Sun, Moon and Stars. But for the Cheat, of divining by the Stars, by their Oppositions or Conjunctions, it has not so much as entered into their Thoughts. They have a particular Sagacity, founded upon much Observation, in judging of the Weather, by which they know when they may look for Rain, Wind, or other Alterations in the Air: But as to the Philosophy of these Things; the Causes of the Saltness of the Sea, of its ebbing and flowing, and of the Original and Nature both of the Heavens and the Earth; they dispute of them, partly, as our ancient Philosophers have done; and, partly upon some new Hypothesis; in which, as they differ from them, so they do not in all Things agree among themselves.

As to moral Philosophy, they have the same Disputes among them, as we have here: They examine what are properly good, both for the Body and the Mind: And whether any outward Thing can be called truly *good*, or if that Term belong only to the Endowments of the Soul. They enquire likewise into the Nature of Virtue and Pleasure; but their chief Dispute is, concerning

cerning the Happiness of a Man, and wherein it consists? Whether in some one Thing, or in a great many? They seem indeed more inclinable to that Opinion that places, if not the whole, yet the chief Part of a Man's Happiness in Pleasure; and, what may seem more strange, they make use of Arguments even from Religion, notwithstanding its Severity and Roughness, for the Support of that Opinion, so indulgent to Pleasure: For they never dispute concerning Happiness without fetching some Arguments from the Principles of Religion, as well as from natural Reason; since without the former, they reckon that all our Enquiries after Happiness, must be but conjectural and defective.

These are their religious Principles; that the Soul of Man is immortal, and that God of his Goodness has designed that it should be happy; and that he has therefore appointed Rewards for good and virtuous Actions, and Punishments for Vice, to be distributed after this Life. Though these Principles of Religion are convey'd down among them by Tradition, they think, that even Reason itself determines a Man to believe and acknowledge them: And freely confess, that if these were taken away, no Man would be so insensible, as not to seek after Pleasure by all possible Means, lawful or unlawful; using only this Caution, that a lesser Pleasure might not stand in the Way of a greater, and that no pleasure ought
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to be pursued, that should draw a great deal of Pain after it: For they think it the maddest thing in the world to pursue Virtue, that is a four and difficult Thing; and not only to renounce the Pleasures of Life, but willingly to undergo much Pain and Trouble, if a Man has no Prospect of a Reward. And what Reward can there be, for one that has passed his whole Life, not only without Pleasure, but in Pain, if there is nothing to be expected after Death? Yet they do not place Happiness in all Sorts of Pleasures, but only in those that in themselves are good and honest. There is a Party among them who place Happiness in bare Virtue; others think that our Natures are conducted by Virtue to Happiness, as that which is the chief good of Man. They define Virtue thus, that it is a living according to Nature; and think, that we are made by God for that End; They believe that a Man then follows the Dictates of Nature, when he pursues or avoids Things according to the Direction of Reason: They say, that the first Dictate of Reason is, the kindling in us a Love and Reverence for the Divine Majesty, to whom we owe both all that we have, and all that we can ever hope for. In the next Place, Reason directs us, to keep our Minds as free from Passion, and as chearful as we can; and that we should consider ourselves as bound by the Ties of good Nature and Humanity, to use our utmost Endeavours to help forward the Happiness
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of all other Persons ; for there never was any Man such a morose and severe Pursuer of Virtue, such an enemy to Pleasure, that though he set hard Rules for Men to undergo, much Pain, many Watchings, and other Rigours, yet did not at the same Time advise them to do all they could, in order to relieve and ease the miserable, and who did not represent Gentleness and good Nature as amiable Dispositions. And from thence they infer, that if a Man ought to advance the Welfare and Comfort of the rest of Mankind, there being no Virtue more proper and peculiar to our Nature, than to ease the Miseries of others, to free from Trouble and Anxiety, in furnishing them with the Comforts of Life, in which Pleasure consists ; Nature much more vigorously leads them to do all this for himself. A Life of Pleasure, is either a real Evil ; and in that Case we ought not to assist others in their Pursuit of it, but on the contrary, to keep them from it all we can, as from that which is most hurtful and deadly ; or if it is a good Thing, so that we not only may, but ought to help others to it, why then ought not a Man to begin with himself ? Since no Man can be more bound to look after the Good of another, than after his own : For Nature cannot direct us to be good and kind to others, and yet at the same Time to be unmerciful and cruel to ourselves. Thus as they define Virtue to be living according to Nature, so they imagine that

Nature

Nature prompts all People on to seek after Pleasure, as the End of all they do. They also observe, that in order to our supporting the Pleasures of Life, Nature inclines us to enter into Society ; for there is no Man so much raised above the rest of Mankind, as to be the only Favourite of Nature, who on the contrary, seems to have placed on a level all those that belong to the same Species. Upon this they infer, that no Man ought to seek his own Conveniencies so eagerly, as to prejudice others ; and therefore they think, that not only all Agreements between private Persons ought to be observed ; but likewise, that all those Laws ought to be kept, which either a good Prince has published in due Form, or to which a People, that is neither oppressed with Tyranny, nor circumvented by Fraud, has consented, for distributing those Conveniencies of Life which afford us all our Pleasures.

They think it is an Evidence of true Wisdom, for a Man to pursue his own Advantages, as far as the Laws allow it. They account it *Piety*, to prefer the publick Good to one's private Concerns ; but they think it unjust, for a Man to seek for Pleasure, by snatching another Man's Pleasures from him. And on the contrary, they think it a Sign of a gentle and good Soul, for a Man to dispense with his own Advantage for the good of others ; and that by this Means, a good Man finds as much Pleasure one way, as he parts with

with, another ; for as he may expect the like from others when he may come to need it, so if that should fail him, yet the Sense of a good Action, and the Reflections that he makes on the Love and Gratitude of those whom he has so obliged, gives the Mind more Pleasure, than the Body could have found in that from which it had restrained it self : They are also persuaded that God will make up the Loss of those small Pleasures, with a vast and endless Joy, of which Religion easily convinces a good Soul.

Thus upon an Enquiry into the whole Matter, they reckon that all our Actions, and even all our Virtues terminate in Pleasure, as in our chief End and greatest Happiness ; and they call every Motion or State, either of Body or Mind, in which Nature teaches us to delight, a Pleasure. Thus they cautiously limit Pleasure, only to those Appetites to which Nature leads us ; for they say that Nature leads us only to those Delights to which Reason as well as Sense carries us, and by which we neither injure any other Person, nor lose the Possession of greater Pleasures, and of such as draw no Troubles after them ; but they look upon those Delights which Men by a foolish, tho' common, Mistake, call *Pleasure*, as if they could change as easily the Nature of Things, as the use of Words ; as Things that greatly obstruct their real Happiness, instead of advancing it, because they so entirely possess the Minds of those that are
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once captivated by them, with a false Notion of Pleasure, that there is no room left for Pleasures of a truer or purer Kind.

There are many Things that in themselves have nothing that is truly delightful : On the contrary, they have a good deal of Bitterness in them : and yet from our perverse Appetites after forbidden Objects, are not only ranked among the Pleasures, but are made even the greatest Designs of Life. Among those who pursue these sophisticated Pleasures, they reckon such as I mentioned before, who think themselves really the better for having fine Clothes ; in which they think they are doubly mistaken, both in the Opinion that they have of their Clothes, and in that they have of themselves ; for if you consider the Use of Clothes, why should a fine Thread be thought better than a coarse one ? And yet these Men, as if they had some real Advantages beyond others, and did not owe them wholly to their Mistakes, look big, seem to fancy themselves to be more valuable, and imagine that a Respect is due to them for the sake of a rich Garment, to which they would not have pretended, if they had been more meanly clothed ; and even resent it as an Affront, if that Respect is not paid them. It is also a great Folly to be taken with outward Marks of Respect, which signify nothing : For what true or real Pleasure can one Man find in another's standing bare, or making Legs to him ?

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Will the bending another Man's Knees give ease to yours ? And will the Head's being bare cure the Madneſs of yours ? And yet it is wonderful to ſee how this falſe Notion of Pleaſure bewitches many, who delight themſelves with the Fancy of their Nobility, and are pleaſed with this Conceit, that they are deſcended from Anceſtors, who have been held for ſome Succeſſions rich, and who have had great Poſſeſſions ; for this is all that makes Nobility at preſent : yet they do not think themſelves a whit the leſs noble, though their immediate Parents have left none of this Wealth to them ; or though they themſelves have ſquandered it away. The *Utopians* have no better Opinion of thoſe, who are much taken with Gems and precious Stones, and who account it a Degree of Happineſs, next to a divine one, if they can purchaſe one that is very extraordinary ; eſpecially if it be of that Sort of Stones, that is then in greateſt Requeſt ; for the ſame Sort is not at all Times univerſally of the ſame Value ; nor will Men buy it, unleſs it be diſmounted and taken out of the Gold ; the Jeweller is then made to give good Security, and required ſolemnly to ſwear that the Stone is true, that by ſuch an exact Caution, a falſe one might not be bought inſtead of a true : Though if you were to examine it, your Eye could find no difference between the counterfeit, and that which is true ; ſo that they are all one to you as much as if you were blind.

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Or can it be thought that they who heap up an useless Mass of Wealth, not for any use that it is to bring them, but meerly to please themselves with the Contemplation of it, enjoy any true Pleasure in it? The Delight they find, is only a false Shadow of Joy: Those are no better, whose Error is somewhat different from the former, and who hide it, out of their fear of losing it; for what other Name can fit the hiding it in the Earth, or rather the restoring it to it again, it being thus cut off from being useful, either to its Owner, or to the rest of Mankind? And yet the Owner having hid it carefully, is glad, because he thinks he is now sure of it. If it should be stole, the Owner, though he might live perhaps ten Years after the Theft, of which he knew nothing, would find no Difference between his having, or losing it; for both ways it was equally useless to him.

Among those foolish Pursuers of Pleasure, they reckon all that delight in Hunting, in Fowling, or Gaming: Of whose Madness they have only heard, for they have no such Things among them: But they have asked us; what Sort of Pleasure is it that Men can find in throwing the Dice? For if there were any Pleasure in it, they think the doing it so often should give one a Surfeit of it: And what Pleasure can one find in hearing the barking and howling of Dogs, which seem rather odious than pleasant Sounds? Nor can they comprehend

prehend the Pleasure of seeing Dogs run after a Hare, more than of seeing one Dog run after another ; for if the seeing them run is that which gives the Pleasure, you have the same Entertainment to the Eye on both these Occasions ; since that is the same in both Cases : But if the Pleasure lies in seeing the Hare killed and torn by the Dogs, this ought rather to stir Pity, that a weak, harmless and fearful Hare, should be devoured by strong, fierce, and cruel Dogs. Therefore all this Business of Hunting, is, among the *Utopians*, turned over to their Butchers ; and those, as has been already said, are all Slaves : And they look on Hunting, as one of the basest Parts of a Butcher's Work : For they account it both more profitable, and more decent to kill those Beasts that are more necessary and useful to Mankind ; whereas the killing and tearing of so small and miserable an Animal, can only attract the Huntsman with a false Shew of Pleasure, from which he can reap but small Advantage. They look on the Desire of the Bloodshed, even of Beasts, as a Mark of a Mind that is already corrupted with Cruelty, or that at least by the frequent Returns of so brutal a Pleasure, must degenerate into it.

Thus, though the Rabble of Mankind look upon these, and on innumerable other Things of the same Nature, as Pleasures ; the *Utopians* on the contrary observing, that there is nothing in them truly pleasant, conclude, that they are not to

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be reckoned among Pleasures: For though these Things may create some Tickling in the Senses, (which seems to be a true Notion of Pleasure) yet they imagine that this does not arise from the Thing it self, but from a depraved Custom, which may so vitiate a Man's Taste, that bitter Things may pass for sweet; as Women with Child think Pitch or Tallow taste sweeter than Honey; but as a Man's Sense when corrupted, either by a Disease, or some ill Habit, does not change the Nature of other Things, so neither can it change the Nature of Pleasure.

They reckon up several Sorts of Pleasures, which they call true Ones: Some belong to the Body, and others to the Mind. The Pleasures of the Mind lie in Knowledge, and in that Delight which the Contemplation of Truth carries with it; to which they add the joyful Reflections on a well-spent Life, and the assured Hopes of a future Happiness. They divide the Pleasures of the Body into two Sorts; the one is that which gives our Senses some real Delight, and is performed, either by recruiting Nature, and supplying those Parts which feed the internal Heat of Life by eating and drinking: Or when Nature is eased of any Surcharge that oppresses it; when we are relieved from sudden Pain, or that which arises from satisfying the Appetite which Nature has wisely given to lead us to the Propagation of the Species. There is another kind of Pleasure that
arises

rises neither from our receiving what the body requires, nor its being relieved when overcharged, and yet by a secret, unseen Virtue affects the Senses, raises the Passions, and strikes the Mind with generous Impressions ; this is the Pleasure that arises from Musick. Another kind of bodily Pleasure is that, which results from an undisturb'd and vigorous Constitution of Body, when Life and active Spirits seem to actuate every Part. This lively Health, when entirely free from all mixture of Pain, of it self gives an inward Pleasure, independant of all external Objects of Delight ; and tho' this Pleasure does not so powerfully affect us, nor act so strongly on the Senses as some of the others, yet it may be esteemed as the greatest of all Pleasures, and almost all the *Utopians* reckon it the Foundation and Basis of all the other Joys of Life ; since this alone makes the State of Life easy and desirable ; and when this is wanting, a Man is really capable of no other Pleasure. They look upon Freedom from Pain, if it does not rise from perfect Health, to be a State of Stupidity, rather than of Pleasure. This Subject has been very narrowly canvassed among them ; and it has been debated whether a firm and entire Health could be called a Pleasure, or not ? Some have thought that there was no Pleasure, but what was excited by some sensible Motion in the Body. But this Opinion has been long ago excluded from among them, so that now they almost

most universally agree, That Health is the greatest of all bodily Pleasures; and that as there is a Pain in Sickness, which is as opposite in its Nature to Pleasure, as Sickness itself is to Health; so they hold, that Health is accompanied with Pleasure: And if any should say, that Sickness is not really Pain, but that it only carries Pain along with it, they look upon that as a Fetch of Subtily, that does not much alter the Matter. It is all one in their Opinion, whether it be said, that Health is in itself a Pleasure, or that it begets a Pleasure, as Fire gives Heat; so it be granted, that all those whose Health is entire, have a true Pleasure in the Enjoyment of it: And they reason thus, What is the Pleasure of eating, but that a Man's Health which had been weakened, does, with the Assistance of Food, drive away Hunger, and so recruiting itself, recovers its former Vigour? And being thus refresh'd, it finds a Pleasure in that Conflict: And if the Conflict is Pleasure, the Victory must yet breed a greater Pleasure, except we fancy that it becomes stupid as soon as it has obtained that which it pursued, and so neither knows nor rejoices in its own Welfare. If it is said, that Health cannot be felt, they absolutely deny it; for what Man is in Health, that does not perceive it when he is awake? Is there any Man that is so dull and stupid, as not to acknowledge that he feels a Delight in Health? And what is Delight, but another Name for Pleasure?

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But of all Pleasures, they esteem those to be most valuable that lie in the Mind ; the chief of which arise out of true Virtue, and the Witness of a good Conscience. They account Health the chief Pleasure that belongs to the Body ; for they think that the Pleasure of eating and drinking, and all the other Delights of Sense, are only so far desirable, as they give or maintain Health : But they are not pleasant in themselves, otherwise than as they resist those Impressions that our natural Infirmities are still making upon us : For as a wise Man desires rather to avoid Diseases, than to take Physick ; and to be freed from Pain, rather than to find ease by Remedies : So it is more desirable, not to need this Sort of Pleasure, than to be obliged to indulge it. If any Man imagines that there is a real Happiness in these Enjoyments, he must then confess that he would be the happiest of all Men, if he were to lead his Life in perpetual Hunger, Thirst, and Itching, and by Consequence in perpetual Eating, Drinking, and Scratching himself ; which any one may easily see would be not only a base but a miserable State of a Life. These are indeed the lowest of Pleasures, and the least pure : For we can never relish them, but when they are mixed with the contrary Pains. The Pain of Hunger must give us the Pleasure of eating ; and here the Pain out-ballances the Pleasure : And as the Pain is more vehement, so it lasts much longer ; for as it begins before the Pleasure,

Pleasure, so it does not cease, but with the Pleasure that extinguishes it, and both expire together: They think, therefore, none of those Pleasures are to be valued, any further than as they are necessary; yet they rejoice in them, and with due Gratitude acknowledge the Tenderness of the great Author of Nature, who has planted in us Appetites, by which those Things that are necessary for our Preservation, are likewise made pleasant to us. For how miserable a Thing would Life be, if those daily Diseases of Hunger and Thirst, were to be carried off by such bitter Drugs, as we must use for those Diseases that return seldomer upon us? And thus these pleasant, as well as proper Gifts of Nature, maintain the Strength and the Sprightliness of our Bodies.

They also entertain themselves with the other Delights let in at their Eyes, their Ears, and their Nostrils, as the pleasant Relishes and Seasonings of Life, which Nature seems to have marked out peculiarly for Man: Since no other Sort of Animals contemplates the Figure and Beauty of the Universe; nor is delighted with Smells, any farther than as they distinguish Meats by them; nor do they apprehend the Concords or Discords of Sound; yet in all Pleasures whatsoever, they take Care that a lesser Joy does not hinder a greater, and that Pleasure may never breed Pain, which they think always follows dishonest Pleasures. But they think it Madness

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for a Man to wear out the Beauty of his Face, or the Force of his Natural Strength; to corrupt the Sprightliness of his Body by Sloth and Laziness, or to waste it by fasting; that it is Madness to weaken the Strength of his Constitution, and reject the other Delights of Life; unless by renouncing his own Satisfaction, he can either serve the Publick, or promote the Happiness of others, for which he expects a greater Recompence from God. So that they look on such a Course of Life, as the Mark of a Mind that is both cruel to it self, and ungrateful to the Author of Nature, as if we would not be beholden to him for his Favours, and therefore rejects all his Blessings; as one who should afflict himself for the empty Shadow of Virtue; or for no better end, than to render himself capable of hearing those Misfortunes which possibly will never happen.

This is their Notion of Virtue and of Pleasure; they think that no Man's Reason can carry him to a truer *Idea* of them, unless some Discovery from Heaven should inspire him with sublimer Notions. I have not now the Leisure to examine, whether they think right or wrong in this Matter: Nor do I judge it necessary, for I have only undertaken to give you an Account of their Constitution, but not to defend all their Principles. I am sure, that whatsoever may be said of their Notions, there is not in the whole World,
either

either a better People or a happier Government : Their Bodies are vigorous and lively ; and though they are but of a middle Stature, and have neither the fruitfullest Soil, nor the purest Air in the World ; yet they fortify themselves so well by their temperate Course of Life, against the unhealthiness of their Air, and by their Industry they so cultivate their Soil, that there is no where to be seen a greater Increase, both of Corn and Cattle, nor are there any where healthier Men, and freer from Diseases : For one may there see reduced to Practice, not only all the Art that the Husbandman employs in manuring and improving an ill Soil, but whole Woods plucked up by the Roots, and in other Places new ones planted, where there were none before. Their principal Motive for this, is the Convenience of Carriage, that their Timber may be either near their Towns, or growing on the Banks of the Sea, or of some Rivers, so as to be floated to them ; for it is a harder Work to carry Wood at any Distance over Land, than Corn. The People are industrious, apt to learn, as well as chearful and pleasant ; and none can endure more Labour, when it is necessary ; but except in that Case they love their Ease. They are unwearied Pursuers of Knowledge ; for when we had given them some Hints of the Learning and Discipline of the *Greeks*, concerning whom we only instructed them, (for we know that there was nothing among the *Romans*, except

their Historians and their Poets, that they would value much) it was strange to see how eagerly they were set on learning that Language : We began to read a little of it to them, rather in Compliance with their Importunity, than out of any Hopes of their reaping from it any great Advantage : But after a very short Trial, we found they made such Progress, that we saw our Labour was like to be more successful than we could have expected. They learned to write their Characters, and to pronounce their Language so exactly, had so quick an Apprehension, they remembered it so faithfully, and became so ready and correct in the Use of it, that it would have look'd like a Miracle, if the greater Part of those whom we taught had not been Men, both of extraordinary Capacity, and of a fit Age for Instruction : They were for the greatest Part chosen from among their learned Men, by their chief Council, though some studied it of their own accord. In three Years Time they became Masters of the whole Language, so that they read the best of the *Greek* Authors very exactly. I am indeed apt to think, that they learned that Language the more easily, from its having some Relation to their own : I believe that they were a Colony of the *Greeks* ; for though their Language comes nearer the *Persian*, yet they retain many Names, both for their Towns and Magistrates, that are of Greek Derivation. I happened to carry a great many Books with me,

instead

instead of Merchandise, when I sailed my fourth Voyage ; for I was so far from thinking of soon coming back, that I rather thought never to have returned at all, and I gave them all my Books, among which were many of *Plato's* and some of *Aristotle's* Works. I had also *Theophrastus* on Plants, which to my great Regret, was imperfect ; for having laid it carelessly by, while we were at Sea, a Monkey had seized upon it and in many Places torn out the Leaves. They have no Books of Grammar, but *Lascares*, for I did not carry *Theodorus* with me ; nor have they any Dictionaries but *Hesichius* and *Dioscorides*. They esteem *Plutarch* highly, and were much taken with *Lucian's* Wit, and with his pleasant Way of Writing. As for the Poets, they have *Aristophanes*, *Homer*, *Euripides*, and *Sophocles* of *Aldus's* Edition ; and for Historians, *Thucydides*, *Herodotus* and *Herodian*. One of my Companions, *Thricius Apinatus*, happened to carry with him some of *Hippocrates's* Works, and *Galen's Microtechne*, which they hold in great Estimation ; for though there is no Nation in the World, that needs Physick so little as they do, yet there is not any that honours it so much : They reckon the Knowledge of it one of the pleasantest and most profitable Parts of Philosophy, by which, as they search into the Secrets of Nature, so they not only find this Study highly agreeable, but think that such Enquiries are very acceptable to the Au-

thor of Nature; and imagine, that as he, like the Inventors of Curious Engines amongst mankind, has expos'd this great Machine of the Universe, to the View of the only Creatures capable of contemplating it, so an exact and curious observer, who admires his Workmanship, is much more acceptable to him than one of the Herd, who like a Beast incapable of Reason, looks on this glorious Scene with the Eyes of a dull and unconcerned Spectator.

The minds of the *Utopians* when fenced with a love for Learning, are very ingenious in discovering all such Arts as are necessary to carry it to perfection. Two things they owe to us, the Manufacture of Paper, and the Art of Printing: Yet they are not so entirely indebted to us for these discoveries, but that a great part of the Invention was their own. We shew'd them some Books printed by *Aldus*, we explained to them the way of making Paper, and the Mystery of Printing; but as we had never practis'd these Arts, we describ'd them in a crude and superficial manner. They seiz'd the Hints we gave them, and tho' at first they could not arrive at Perfection, yet by making many Essays, they at last found out, and corrected all their Errors, and conquered every Difficulty. Before this they only wrote on Parchment, on Reeds, or on the Barks of Trees; but now they have established the Manufactures of Paper, and set up Printing-Presses, so that if they

they had but a good Number of Greek Authors, they would be quickly supplied with many Copies of them : At present, tho' they have no more than those I have mentioned, yet by several Impressions, they have multiplied them into many thousands. If any Man was to go among them, that had some extraordinary Talent, or that by much travelling had observed the Customs of many Nations, (which made us to be so well received) he would receive a hearty welcome ; for they are very desirous to know the State of the whole World. Very few go among them on the Account of Traffick, for what can a Man carry to them but Iron, or Gold, or Silver, which Merchants desire rather to export, than import to a strange Country : And as for their Exportation, they think it better to manage that themselves, than to leave it to Foreigners, for by this Means, as they understand the State of the neighbouring Countries better, so they keep up the Art of Navigation, which cannot be maintained but by much practice.

Of their Slaves, and of their Marriages.

THEY do not make Slaves of Prisoners of War, except those that are taken in Battle ; nor of the Sons of their Slaves, nor of those of

other Nations : The Slaves among them, are only such as are condemned to that State of Life for the Commission of some Crime, or which is more common, such as their Merchants find condemned to die in those Parts to which they trade, whom they sometimes redeem at low Rates; and in other Places have them for nothing. They are kept at perpetual Labour, and are always chained, but with this difference, that their own Natives are treated much worse than others; they are considered as more profligate than the rest, and since they could not be restrained by the Advantages of so excellent an Education, are judged worthy of harder Usage. Another Sort of Slaves, are the Poor of the neighbouring Countries, who offer of their own accord to come and serve them; they treat these better, and use them in all other respects, as well as their own Country Men, except their imposing more Labour upon them, which is no hard Task to those that have been accustomed to it; and if any of these have a mind to go back to their own Country, which indeed falls out but seldom, as they do not force them to stay, so they do not send them away empty handed.

I have already told you with what Care they look after their Sick, so that nothing is left undone that can contribute either to their Ease or Health : And for those who are taken with fixed and incurable Diseases, they use all possible ways

to cherish them, and to make their Lives as comfortable as possible: They visit them often, and take great Pains to make their time pass off easily: But when any is taken with a torturing and lingering Pain, so that there is no Hope, either of Recovery or Ease, the Priests and Magistrates come and exhort them, that since they are now unable to go on with the Business of Life, are become a Burden to themselves, and to all about them, and they have really outlived themselves, they should no longer nourish such a rooted Distemper, but choose rather to die, since they cannot live, but in much Misery; being assured, that if they thus deliver themselves from Torture, or are willing that others should do it, they shall be happy after Death. Since by their acting thus, they lose none of the Pleasures, but only the Troubles of Life; they think they behave not only reasonably, but in a Manner consistent with Religion and Piety; because they follow the Advice given them by their Priests, who are the Expounders of the Will of God. Such as are wrought on by these Persuasions, either starve themselves of their own accord, or take Opium, and by that means die without pain. But no Man is forced on this way of ending his Life; and if they cannot be persuaded to it, this does not induce them to fail in their Attendance and Care of them: But as they believe that a voluntary Death, when it is chosen upon such an

114 Sir THOMAS MORE's

Authority, is very honourable ; so if any Man takes away his own Life, without the Approbation of the Priests and the Senate, they give him none of the Honours of a decent Funeral, but throw his Body into a Ditch.

Their Women are not married before eighteen, nor their Men before two and twenty ; and if any of them run into forbidden Embraces before Marriage, they are severely punished, and the privilege of Marriage is denied them, unless they can obtain a special Warrant from the Prince. Such Disorders cast a great Reproach upon the Master and Mistress of the Family in which they happen ; for it is supposed, that they have failed in their Duty. The Reason of punishing this so severely, is, because they think that if they were not strictly restrained from all vagrant Appetites, very few would engage in a State in which they venture the Quiet of their whole Lives, by being confined to one Person, and are obliged to endure all the Inconveniencies with which it is accompanied. In choosing their Wives, they use a Method that would appear to us very absurd and ridiculous, but it is constantly observed among them, and is accounted perfectly consistent with Wisdom. Before Marriage, some grave Matron presents the Bride naked, whether she is a Virgin or a Widow, to the Bridegroom ; and after that, some grave Man presents the Bridegroom naked to the Bride. We indeed both laughed at this, and condemned

condemned it as very indecent. But they, on the other hand, wondered at the Folly of the Men of all other Nations; who if they are but to buy a Horse of a small Value, are so cautious, that they will see every Part of him, and take off both his Saddle, and all his other Tackle, that there may be no secret Ulcer hid under any of them; and that yet in the Choice of a Wife, on which depends the Happiness or Unhappiness of the rest of his Life, a Man should venture upon Trust, and only see about an handsbreadth of the Face, all the rest of the Body being covered; under which there may lie hid what may be contagious, as well as loathsome. All Men are not so wise, as to choose a Woman only for her good Qualities; and even wise Men consider the Body, as that which adds not a little to the Mind: And it is certain, there may be some such Deformity covered with the Clothes, as may totally alienate a Man from his Wife, when it is too late to part with her: If such a Thing is discovered after Marriage, a Man has no Remedy but Patience: They therefore think it is reasonable, that there should be good Provision made against such mischievous Frauds.

There was so much the more reason for them to make a Regulation in this Matter, because they are the only People of those Parts that neither allow of Polygamy, nor of Divorces, except in the Case of Adultery, or insufferable Perverseness:

For in these Cases the Senate dissolves the Marriage, and grants the injured Person leave to marry again ; but the Guilty are made infamous, and are never allowed the Privilege of a second Marriage. None are suffered to put away their Wives against their Wills, from any great Calamity that may have fallen on their Persons, for they look on it as the Height of Cruelty and Treachery to abandon either of the married Persons, when they need most the tender Care of their Consort ; and that chiefly in the Case of old Age, which as it carries many Diseases along with it, so it is a Disease of itself. But it frequently falls out, that when a married Couple do not well agree, they by mutual Consent separate, and find out other Persons with whom they hope they may live more happily : Yet this is not done, without obtaining Leave of the Senate ; which never admits of a Divorce, but upon a strict enquiry made, both by the Senators and their Wives, into the Grounds upon which it is desired ; and even when they are satisfied concerning the Reasons of it, they go on but slowly, for they imagine that too great easiness, in granting leave for new Marriages, would very much shake the Kindness of married People. They punish severely those that defile the Marriage-Bed : If both Parties are married, they are divorced, and the injured Persons may marry one another, or whom they please ; but the Adulterer, and the

Adultress

Adultres are condemned to Slavery. Yet if either of the injured Persons cannot shake off the Love of the married Person, they may live with them still in that State; but they must follow them to that Labour to which the Slaves are condemned; and sometimes the Repentance of the condemned, together with the unshaken Kindness of the Innocent and injured Person, has prevailed so far with the Prince, that he has taken off the Sentence: But those that relapse, after they are once pardoned, are punished with Death.

Their Law does not determine the Punishment for other Crimes; but that is left to the Senate, to temper it according to the Circumstances of the Fact. Husbands have power to correct their Wives, and Parents to chastise their Children, unless the Fault is so great, that a publick Punishment is thought necessary for striking Terror into others. For the most Part, Slavery is the Punishment even of the greatest Crimes; for as that is no less terrible to the Criminals themselves than Death; so they think the preserving them in a State of Servitude, is more for the Interest of the Common-Wealth, than killing them; since as their Labour is a greater Benefit to the Publick, than their Death could be; so the Sight of their Misery is a more lasting Terror to other Men, than that which would be given by their Death. If their Slaves rebel, and will not bear their Yoke, and submit to the Labour that is enjoined them, they

they are treated as wild Beasts that cannot be kept in order, neither by a Prison, nor by their Chains ; and are at last put to Death. But those who bear their Punishment patiently, and are so much wrought on by that pressure, that lies so hard on them, that it appears they are really more troubled for the Crimes they have committed, than for the Miseries they suffer, are not out of Hope, but that at last either the Prince will, by his Prerogative, or the People, by their Intercession, restore them again to their Liberty, or at least very much mitigate their Slavery. He that tempts a married Woman to Adultery, is no less severely punished, than he that commits it ; for they believe that a deliberate Design to commit a Crime, is equal to the Fact itself ; since it's not taking Effect does not make the Person that miscarried in his Attempt at all the less guilty.

They take great Pleasure in Fools, and as it is thought a base and unbecoming thing to use them ill, so they do not think it amiss for People to divert themselves with their Folly : And, in their Opinion, this is a great Advantage to the Fools themselves : For if Men were so fullen and severe, as not at all to please themselves with their ridiculous Behaviour, and foolish Sayings, which is all that they can do to recommend themselves to others, it could not be expected that they would be so well provided for, nor so tenderly used as they must otherwise be. If any Man should re-
proach

proach another for his being misshaped or imperfect in any Part of his Body, it would not at all be thought a Reflection on the Person so treated, but it would be accounted scandalous in him that had upbraided another with what he could not help. It is thought a sign of a sluggish and sordid Mind, not to preserve carefully one's natural Beauty; but it is likewise infamous among them to use Paint. They all see that no Beauty recommends a Wife so much to her Husband, as the Probity of her Life, and her Obedience: For as some few are caught and held only by Beauty, so all are attracted by the other Excellencies which charm all the World.

As they fright Men from committing Crimes by Punishments, so they invite them to the Love of Virtue, by publick Honours: Therefore they erect Statues to the Memories of such worthy Men as have deserved well of their Country, and set these in their Market-places, both to perpetuate the Remembrance of their Actions, and to be an Incitement to their Posterity to follow their Example.

If any Man aspires to any Office, he is sure never to compass it: They all live easily together, for none of the Magistrates are either insolent or cruel to the people: They affect rather to be called *Fathers*, and by being really so, they well deserve the Name; and the People pay them all the Marks of Honour the more freely, because none
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are exacted from them. The Prince himself has no Distinction, either of Garments, or of a Crown; but is only distinguished by a Sheaf of Corn carried before him; as the High Priest is also known by his being preceded by a Person carrying a Wax Light.

They have but few Laws, and such is their Constitution, that they need not many. They very much condemn other Nations, whose Laws, together with the Commentaries on them, swell up to so many Volumes; for they think it an unreasonable Thing to oblige Men to obey a Body of Laws, that are both of such a Bulk, and so dark as not to be read and understood by every one of the Subjects.

They have no Lawyers among them, for they consider them as a Sort of People, whose Profession it is to disguise Matters, and to wrest the Laws; and therefore they think it is much better that every Man should plead his own Cause, and trust it to the judge, as in other Places the Client trusts it to a Counsellor. By this means they both cut off many Delays, and find out Truth more certainly: For after the Parties have laid open the Merits of the Cause, without those Artifices which Lawyers are apt to suggest, the Judge examines the whole Matter, and supports the Simplicity of such well-meaning Persons, whom otherwise crafty Men would be sure to run down: And thus they avoid those Evils, which appear
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very remarkably among all those Nations that labour under a vast Load of Laws. Every one of them is skilled in their Law, for as it is a very short Study, so the plainest Meaning of which Words are capable, is always the Sense of their Laws. And they argue thus; all Laws are promulgated for this End, that every Man may know his Duty; and therefore the plainest and most obvious Sense of the Words, is that which ought to be put upon them; since a more refined Exposition cannot be easily comprehended, and would only serve to make the Laws become useless to the greater Part of Mankind, and especially to those who need most the Direction of them: for it is all one, not to make a Law at all, or to couch it in such Terms, that without a quick Apprehension, and much study, a Man cannot find out the true Meaning of it; since the Generality of Mankind are both so dull, and so much employed in their several Trades, that they have neither the Leisure nor the Capacity requisite for such an Enquiry.

Some of their Neighbours, who are Masters of their own Liberties, having long ago, by the Assistance of the *Utopians*, shaken off the Yoke of Tyranny; and being much taken with those Virtues which they observe among them, have come to desire that they would send Magistrates to govern them; some changing them every Year, and others every five Years. At the End of their Government,

Government, they bring them back to *Utopia*, with great Expressions of Honour and Esteem, and carry away others to govern in their Stead. In this they seem to have fallen upon a very good Expedient for their own Happiness and Safety: For since the good or ill Condition of a Nation depends so much upon their Magistrates, they could not have made a better Choice, than by pitching on Men whom no Advantages can byass; for Wealth is of no use to them, since they must so soon go back to their own Country; and they being Strangers among them, are not engaged in any of their Heats or Animosities: And it is certain, that when publick Judicatories are swayed, either by Avarice or partial Affections, there must follow a Dissolution of Justice, the chief Sinew of Society.

The *Utopians* call those Nations that come and ask Magistrates from them, *Neighbours*; but those to whom they have been of more particular Service, *Friends*. And as all other Nations are perpetually either making Leagues or breaking them, they never enter into an Alliance with any State. They think Leagues are useles Things, and believe, that if the common Ties of Humanity do not knit Men together, the Faith of Promises will have no great Effect: And they are the more confirmed in this, by what they see among the Nations round about them, who are no strict Observers of Leagues and Treaties. We know

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how religiously they are observed in *Europe*; more particularly where the Christian Doctrine is received, among whom they are sacred and inviolable. Which is partly owing to the Justice and Goodness of the Princes themselves, and partly to the Reverence they pay to the Popes: Who as they are most religious Observers of their own Promises, so they exhort all other Princes to perform theirs; and when fainter Methods do not prevail, they compel them to it by the Severity of the Pastoral Censure; and think that it would be the most indecent Thing possible, if Men who are particularly distinguished by the Title of *the Faithful*, should not religiously keep the *Faith* of their Treaties. But in that new-found World, which is not more distant from us in Situation, than the People are in their Manners and Course of Life, there is no trusting to Leagues, even tho' they were made with all the Pomp of the most sacred Ceremonies: On the contrary, they are on this Account the sooner broken, some slight Pretence being found in the Words of the Treaties, which are purposely couched in such ambiguous Terms, that they can never be so strictly bound, but they will always find some Loop-hole to escape at; and thus they break both their Leagues and their Faith. And this is done with such Impudence, that those very Men who value themselves on having suggested these Expedients to their Princes, would with a haughty Scorn, de-
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claim against such Craft, or to speak plainer, such Fraud and Deceit, if they found private Men make use of it in their Bargains; and would readily say, that they deserved to be hanged.

By this means it is, that all sort of Justice, passes in the World, for a low-spirited and vulgar Virtue, far below the Dignity of Royal Greatness. Or at least, there are set up two Sorts of Justice: The one is mean, and creeps on the Ground, and therefore becomes none but the lower Part of Mankind, and so must be kept in severely by many Restraints, that it may not break out beyond the Bounds that are set to it. The other is the peculiar Virtue of Princes, which as it is more Majestick than that which becomes the Rabble, so takes a freer Compass; and thus lawful and unlawful, are only measured by Pleasure and Interest. These Practices of the Princes that lie about *Utopia*, who make so little Account of their Faith, seem to be the Reasons that determine them to engage in no Confederacies: Perhaps they would change their Mind if they lived among us: But yet tho' Treaties were more religiously observed, they would still dislike the Custom of making them; since the World has taken up a false Maxim upon it, as if there were no Tie of Nature uniting one Nation to another, only separated perhaps by a Mountain, or a River, and that all were born in a State of Hostility, and so might lawfully do all that Mis-

chief

chief to their Neighbours, against which there is no Provision made by Treaties : and that when Treaties are made, they do not cut off the Enmity, or restrain the License of preying upon each other, if by the Unskilfulness of wording them, there are not effectual *Proviso's* made against them. They, on the other hand, judge, that no Man is to be esteemed our Enemy that has never injured us ; and that the Partnership of the human Nature, is instead of a League. And that Kindness and good Nature unite Men more effectually, and with greater Strength than any Agreements whatsoever ; since thereby the Engagements of Men's Hearts become stronger, than the Bond and Obligation of Words.

Of their Military Discipline.

THEY detest War as a very brutal Thing ; and which, to the Reproach of human Nature, is more practised by Men, than by any Sort of Beasts : They, in Opposition to the Sentiments of almost all other Nations, think that there is nothing more inglorious than that Glory that is gained by War : And therefore tho' they accustom themselves daily to Military Exercises, and the Discipline of War, in which not only their Men, but their Women likewise, are trained up, that in Cases of Necessity, they may not be quite useless :

less : Yet they do not rashly engage in War, unless it be either to defend themselves, or their Friends, from any unjust Aggressors ; or out of good Nature, or in Compassion assist an oppressed Nation, in shaking off the Yoke of Tyranny. They indeed help their Friends, not only in Defensive, but also in Offensive Wars : But they never do that, unless they had been consulted before the Breach was made, and being satisfied with the Grounds on which they went, they had found that all Demands of Reparation were rejected, so that a War was unavoidable. This they think to be not only just, when one Neighbour makes an inroad on another, by publick Order, and carry away the Spoils ; but when the Merchants of one Country are oppressed in another, either under Pretence of some unjust Laws, or by the perverse wresting of good ones : This they count a juster Cause of War than the other, because those Injuries are done under some Colour of Laws. This was the only Ground of that War, in which they engaged with the *Nephelegetes* against the *Aleopolitanes*, a little before our Time : For the Merchants of the former, having, as they thought, met with great Injustice among the latter, which, whether it was in itself right or wrong, drew on a terrible War, in which many of their Neighbours were engaged ; and their Keeness in carrying it on, being supported by their Strength in maintaining it ; it not only shook some very flourishing

flourishing States, and very much afflicted others; but after a Series of much Mischief, ended in the entire Conquest and Slavery of the *Aleopolitanes*, who though before the War, they were in all respects much superior to the *Nephelogeates*, were yet subdued; but though the *Utopians* had assisted them in the War, yet they pretended to no Share of the Spoil.

But though they so vigorously assist their Friends, in obtaining Reparation for the Injuries they have received in affairs of this Nature; yet if any such frauds was committed against themselves, provided no Violence was done to their Persons, they would only on their being refused Satisfaction, forbear trading with such a People. This is not because they consider their Neighbours more than their own Citizens; but since their Neighbours trade every one upon his own Stock, Fraud is a more sensible Injury to them, than it is to the *Utopians*, among whom the Publick in such a Case only suffers: As they expect nothing in return for the Merchandizes they export, but that in which they so much abound, and is of little use to them, the Loss does not much affect them; they think therefore it would be too severe to revenge a Loss attended with so little Inconvenience either to their Lives, or their Subsistence, with the Death of many Persons: but if any of their People is either killed or wounded wrongfully, whether it be done by publick Authority, or only
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by private Men, as soon as they hear of it, they send Ambassadors, and demand, that the Guilty Persons may be delivered up to them ; and if that is denied, they declare War ; but if it be complied with, the Offenders are condemned either to Death or Slavery.

They would be both troubled and ashamed of a *bloody Victory* over their Enemies ; and think it would be as foolish a Purchase, as to buy the most valuable Goods at too high a Rate. And in no Victory do they glory so much, as in that which is gained by Dexterity and good Conduct, without Bloodshed. In such Cases they appoint publick Triumphs, and erect Trophies to the Honour of those who have succeeded ; for then do they reckon that a Man acts suitably to his Nature, when he conquers his Enemy in such a Way, as that no other Creature but a Man could be capable of, and that is, by the Strength of his Understanding. Bears, Lions, Boars, Wolves, and Dogs, and all other Animals imploy their bodily Force one against another, in which as many of them are superior to Men, both in Strength and Fierceness, so they are all subdued by his Reason and Understanding.

The only Design of the *Utopians* in War, is to obtain that by Force, which if it had been granted them in Time, would have prevented the War ; or if that cannot be done, to take so severe a Revenge on those that have injured them,
that

that they may be terrified from doing the like for the Time to come. By these Ends they measure all their Designs, and manage them so, that it is visible that the Appetite of Fame or Vain-glory, does not work so much on them, as a just Care of their own Security.

As soon as they declare War, they take Care to have a great many Schedules, that are sealed with their common Seal, affixed in the most conspicuous Places of their Enemies Country. This is carried secretly, and done in many Places all at once. In these they promise great Rewards to such as shall kill the Prince, and lesser in Proportion to such as shall kill any other Persons, who are those on whom, next to the Prince himself, they cast the chief Balance of the War. And they double the Sum to him, that instead of killing the Person so marked out, shall take him alive, and put him in their Hands. They offer not only Indemnity, but Rewards, to such of the Persons themselves that are so marked, if they will act against their Countrymen : By this Means those that are named in their Schedules, become not only distrustful of their Fellow-Citizens, but are jealous of one another : And are much distracted by Fear and Danger ; for it has often fallen out, that many of them, and even the Prince himself, have been betrayed by those in whom they have trusted most : For the Rewards that the *Utopians* offer, are so unmeasurably great, that there is

no Sort of Crime to which Men cannot be drawn by them. They consider the Risque that those run, who undertake such Services, and offer a Re-compence proportioned to the Danger ; not only a vast deal of Gold, but great Revenues in Lands, that lie among other Nations that are their Friends, where they may go and enjoy them very securely ; and they observe the Promises they make of this Kind most religiously. They very much approve of this Way of corrupting their Enemies, though it appears to others to be base and cruel ; but they look on it as a wise Course, to make an End of what would be otherwise a long War, without so much as hazarding one Battle to decide it. They think it likewise an Act of Mercy and Love to Mankind, to prevent the great Slaughter of those that must otherwise be killed in the Progress of the War, both on their own Side, and on that of their Enemies, by the Death of a few that are most guilty ; and that in so doing, they are kind even to their Enemies, and pity them no less than their own People, as knowing that the greater Part of them do not engage in the War of their own accord, but are driven into it by the Passions of their Prince.

If this Method does not succeed with them, then they sow seeds of Contention among their Enemies, and animate the Prince's Brother, or some of the Nobility, to aspire to the Crown. If they cannot disunite them, by domestick Broils, then

then they engage their Neighbours against them, and make them set on Foot some old Pretensions, which are never wanting to Princes, when they have Occasion for them. These they plentifully supply with Money, though but very sparingly with any Auxiliary Troops: For they are so tender of their own People, that they would not willingly exchange one of them, even with the Prince of their Enemies Country.

But as they keep their Gold and Silver only for such an Occasion, so when that offers itself, they easily part with it, since it would be no Inconvenience to them, though they should reserve nothing of it to themselves. For besides the Wealth that they have among them at Home, they have a vast Treasure abroad; many Nations round about them, being deep in their Debt: So that they hire Soldiers from all Places for carrying on their Wars; but chiefly from the *Zapolets*, who live five hundred Miles East of *Utopia*. They are a rude, wild, and fierce Nation, who delight in the Woods and Rocks, among which they were born and bred up. They are hardened both against Heat, Cold, and Labour, and know nothing of the Delicacies of Life. They do not apply themselves to Agriculture, nor do they care either for their Houses or their Clothes. Cattle is all that they look after; and for the greatest part, they live either by Hunting, or upon Rapine; and are made, as it were, only for War.

They watch all Opportunities of engaging in it, and very readily embrace such as are offered them. Great Numbers of them will frequently go out, and offer themselves for a very low Pay, to serve any that will employ them: They know none of the Arts of Life, but those that lead to the taking it away; they serve those that hire them, both with much Courage and great Fidelity; but will not engage to serve for any determin'd Time, and agree upon such Terms, that the next Day they may go over to the Enemies of those whom they serve, if they offer them a greater Encouragement: And will perhaps return to them the Day after that, upon a higher Advance of their Pay. There are few Wars in which they make not a considerable Part of the Armies of both Sides: So it often falls out, that they who are related, and were hired in the same Country, and so have lived long and familiarly together; forgetting both their Relations and former Friendship, kill one another upon no other Consideration, than that of being hired to it for a little Money, by Princes of different Interests: And such a Regard have they for Money, that they are easily wrought on by the Difference of one Penny a Day, to change Sides. So entirely does their Avarice influence them; and yet this Money which they value so highly, is of little Use to them; for what they purchase thus with their Blood, they quickly waste on Luxury, which

which among them is but of a poor and miserable Form.

This Nation serves the *Utopians* against all People whatsoever, for they pay higher than any other. The *Utopians* hold this for a Maxim, that as they seek out the best Sort of Men for their own use at Home, so they make use of this worst Sort of Men for the Consumption of War, and therefore they hire them with the Offers of vast Rewards, to expose themselves to all Sorts of Hazards, out of which the greater Part never returns to claim their Promises. Yet they make them good most religiously to such as escape. This animates them to adventure again, whenever there is Occasion for it; for the *Utopians* are not at all troubled how many of these happen to be killed; and reckon it a Service done to Mankind, if they could be a means to deliver the World from such a lewd and vicious Sort of People, that seem to have run together, as to the Drain of human Nature. Next to these they are served in their Wars, with those upon whose Account they undertake them, and with the Auxiliary Troops of their other Friends, to whom they join a few of their own People, and send some Man of eminent and approved Virtue to command in chief. There are two sent with him, who during his Command, are but private Men, but the first is to succeed him if he should happen to be either killed or taken; and in Case

of the like Misfortune to him, the third comes in his Place; and thus they provide against ill Events, that such Accidents as may befall their Generals, may not endanger their Armies. When they draw out Troops of their own People, they take such out of every City as freely offer themselves, for none are forced to go against their Wills, since they think that if any Man is pressed that wants Courage, he will not only act faintly, but by his Cowardice dishearten others. But if an Invasion is made on their Country, they make use of such Men, if they have good Bodies, though they are not brave; and either put them aboard their Ships, or place them on the Walls of their Towns, that being so posted, they may find no Opportunity of flying away; and thus either Shame, the Heat of Action, or the Impossibility of flying, bears down their Cowardice; they often make a Virtue of Necessity, and behave themselves well, because nothing else is left them. But as they force no Man to go into any foreign War against his Will, so they do not hinder those Women who are willing to go along with their Husbands: On the contrary, they encourage and praise them; and they stand often next their Husbands in the Front of the Army. They also place together those who are related, Parents, and Children, Kindred, and those that are mutually allied, near one another; that those whom Nature has inspired with the greatest Zeal
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for assisting one another, may be the nearest and readiest to do it; and it is Matter of great Reproach, if Husband or Wife survive one another, or if a Child survives his Parent, and therefore when they come to be engaged in Action, they continue to fight to the last Man, if their Enemies stand before them: And as they use all prudent Methods to avoid the endangering their own Men, and if it is possible, let all the Action and Danger fall upon the Troops that they hire; so if it becomes necessary for themselves, to engage, they then charge with as much Courage, as they avoided it before with Prudence: Nor is it a fierce Charge at first, but it encreases by Degrees; and as they continue in Action, they grow more obstinate, and press harder upon the Enemy, insomuch that they will much sooner die than give Ground; for the Certainty that their Children will be well looked after, when they are dead, frees them from all that Anxiety concerning them, which often masters Men of great Courage; and thus they are animated by a noble and invincible Resolution. Their Skill in Military Affairs encreases their Courage; and the wise Sentiments which according to the Laws of their Country, are instilled into them in their Education, give additional Vigour to their Minds: For as they do not under-value Life so as prodigally to throw it away, they are not so indecently fond of it, as to preserve it, by base and unbecoming

Methods. In the greatest Heat of Action the bravest of their Youth, who have devoted themselves to that Service, single out the General of their Enemies, set on him either openly or by Ambuscade ; pursue him every where, and when spent and wearied out, are relieved by others, who never give over the Pursuit, either attacking him with close Weapons when they can get near him, or with those which wound at a Distance, when others get in between them : So that unless he secures himself by Flight, they seldom fail at last to kill or to take him Prisoner. When they have obtained a Victory, they kill as few as possible, and are much more bent on taking many Prisoners, than on killing those that fly before them : Nor do they ever let their Men so loose in the Pursuit of their Enemies, as not to retain an entire Body still in Order ; so that if they have been forced to engage the last of their Battalions, before they could gain the Day, they will rather let their Enemies all escape than pursue them, when their own Army is in Disorder ; remembering well what has often fallen out to themselves ; that when the main Body of their Army has been quite defeated and broken, when their Enemies imagining the Victory obtained, have let themselves loose into an irregular Pursuit, a few of them that lay for a Reserve, waiting a fit Opportunity, have fallen on them in their Chace, and when straggling in Disorder, and apprehen-

apprehensive of no Danger, but counting the Day their own; have turned the whole Action, and wresting out of their Hands a Victory that seemed certain and undoubted, while the vanquished have suddenly become victorious.

It is hard to tell whether they are more dextrous in laying or avoiding Ambushes: They sometimes seem to fly when it is far from their Thoughts; and when they intend to give Ground, they do it so, that it is very hard to find out their Design. If they see they are ill posted, or are like to be overpowered by Numbers, they then either march off in the Night with great Silence, or by some Stratagem delude their Enemies: If they retire in the Day-Time, they do it in such Order, that it is no less dangerous to fall upon them in a Retreat, than in a March. They fortify their Camps with a deep and large Trench; and throw up the Earth that is dug out of it for a Wall; nor do they employ only their Slaves in this, but the whole Army works at it, except those that are then upon the Guard; so that when so many Hands are at Work, a great Line and a strong Fortification is finished in so short a Time, that it is scarce credible. Their Armour is very strong for Defence, and yet is not so heavy as to make them uneasy in their Marches; they can even swim with it. All that are trained up to War, practise swimming: Both Horse and Foot make great use of Arrows, and

are very expert: They have no Swords, but fight with a Poll-ax that is both sharp and heavy, by which they thrust or strike down an Enemy; they are very good at finding out war-like Machines, and disguise them so well, that the Enemy does not perceive them, till he feels the Use of them; so that he cannot prepare such a Defence as would render them useless; the chief Consideration had in the making them, is, that they may be easily carried and managed.

If they agree to a Truce, they observe it so religiously, that no Provocations will make them break it. They never lay their Enemies Country waste, nor burn their Corn, and even in their Marches they take all possible Care, that neither Horse nor Foot may tread it down, for they do not know but that they may have Use for it themselves. They hurt no Man whom they find disarmed, unless he is a Spy. When a Town is surrendered to them, they take it into their Protection: And when they carry a Place by Storm, they never plunder it, but put those only to the Sword that opposed the rendering of it up, and make the rest of the Garrison Slaves, but for the other Inhabitants, they do them no hurt; and if any of them had advised a Surrender, they give them good Rewards out of the Estates of those that they condemn, and distribute the rest among their Auxiliary Troops, but they themselves take no Share of the Spoil.

When

When a War is ended, they do not oblige their Friends to reimburse their Expences; but they obtain them of the conquered, either in Money, which they keep for the next Occasion, or in Lands, out of which a constant Revenue is to be paid them; by many Increases, the Revenue which they draw out from several Countries on such Occasions, is now risen to above 700,000 Ducats a Year. They send some of their own People to receive these Revenues, who have Orders to live magnificently, and like Princes, by which Means they consume much of it upon the Place; and either bring over the rest to *Utopia*, or lend it to that Nation in which it lies. This they most commonly do, unless some great Occasion, which falls out but very seldom, should oblige them to call for it all. It is out of these Lands that they assign Rewards to such as they encourage to adventure on desperate Attempts. If any Prince that engages in War with them, is making Preparations for invading their Country, they prevent him, and make his Country the Seat of the War; for they do not willingly suffer any War to break in upon their Island; and if that should happen, they would only defend themselves by their own People; but would not call for Auxiliary Troops to their Assistance.

Of the Religions of the Utopians.

THERE are several Sorts of Religions, not only in different Parts of the Island, but even in every Town; some worshipping the Sun, others the Moon, or one of the Planets: Some worship such Men as have been eminent in former Times for Virtue, or Glory, not only as ordinary Deities, but as the supream God: Yet the greater and wiser Sort of them worship none of these, but adore one eternal, invisible, infinite, and incomprehensible Deity; as a Being that is far above all our Apprehensions, that is spread over the whole Universe, not by his Bulk, but by his Power and Virtue; him they call the *Father of all*, and acknowledge that the Beginnings, the Encrease, the Progress, the Vicissitudes, and the End of all Things come only from him; nor do they offer divine Honours to any but to him alone. And indeed, though they differ concerning other Things, yet all agree in this; that they think there is one supream Being that made and governs the World, whom they call in the Language of their Country, *Mithras*. They differ in this, that one thinks the God whom he worships is this supream Being, and another thinks that his Idol is that God; but they all agree in one Principle, that whoever is this supream Being,

ing, he is also that great Essence, to whose Glory and Majesty all Honours are ascribed by the Consent of all Nations.

By Degrees, they fall off from the various Superstitions that are among them, and grow up to that one Religion that is the Best and most in Request; and there is no Doubt to be made, but that all the others had vanished long ago, if some of those who advised them to lay aside their Superstitions, had not met with some unhappy Accidents, which being considered as inflicted by Heaven, made them afraid that the God whose Worship had like to have been abandoned, had interposed; and revenged themselves on those who despised their Authority.

After they had heard from us, an Account of the Doctrine, the Course of Life, and the Miracles of Christ, and of the wonderful Constancy of so many Martyrs, whose Blood, so willingly offered up by them, was the chief Occasion of spreading their Religion over a vast Number of Nations; it is not to be imagined how inclined they were to receive it. I shall not determine whether this proceeded from any secret Inspiration of God, or whether it was because it seemed so favourable to that Community of Goods, which is an Opinion so particular, as well as so dear to them; since they perceived that Christ and his Followers

Followers lived by that Rule; and that it was still kept up in some Communities among the sincerest Sort of Christians. From which soever of these Motives it might be, true it is, that many of them came over to our Religion, and were initiated into it by Baptism. But as two of our Number were dead, so none of the four that survived, were in Priests Orders; we therefore could only baptize them; so that to our great Regret, they could not partake of the other Sacraments, that can only be administered by Priests: But they are instructed concerning them, and long most vehemently for them. They have had great Disputes among themselves, whether one chosen by them to be a Priest, would not be thereby qualified to do all the Things that belong to that Character, even though he had no Authority derived from the Pope; and they seemed to be resolved to choose some for that Employment, but they had not done it when I left them.

Those among them that have not received our Religion, do not fright any from it, and use none ill that goes over to it; so that all the while I was there, one Man was only punished on this Occasion. He being newly baptized, did, notwithstanding all that we could say to the contrary, dispute publickly concerning the Christian Religion, with more Zeal than Discretion; and
with

with so much Heat, that he not only preferred our Worship to theirs, but condemned all their Rites as profane; and cried out against all that adhered to them, as impious and sacrilegious Persons, that were to be damned to everlasting Burnings. Upon his having frequently preached in this Manner, he was seized, and after Trial, he was condemned to Banishment, not for having disparaged their Religion, but for his inflaming the People to Sedition: For this is one of their most ancient Laws, that no Man ought to be punished for his Religion. At the first Constitution of their Government, *Utopus* having understood, that before his coming among them, the old Inhabitants had been engaged in *great Quarrels* concerning Religion, by which they were so divided among themselves, that he found it an easy Thing to conquer them, since instead of uniting their Forces against him, every different Party in Religion fought by themselves: After he had subdued them, he made a Law that every Man might be of what Religion he pleased, and might endeavour to draw others to it by the Force of Argument, and by amicable and modest Ways, but without Bitterness against those of other Opinions; but that he ought to use no other Force but that of Persuasion; and was neither to mix with it Reproaches nor Violence; and such as did otherwise were to be condemned to Banishment or Slavery.

This

This Law was made by *Utopus*, not only for preserving the publick Peace, which he saw suffered much by daily Contentions and Irreconcilable Heats, but because he thought the Interest of Religion it self required it. He judged it not fit to determine any Thing rashly; and seemed to doubt whether those different Forms of Religion might not all come from God, who might inspire Men in a different manner, and be pleased with this Variety; he therefore thought it indecent and foolish for any Man to threaten and terrify another to make him believe what did not appear to him to be true. And supposing that only one Religion was really true, and the rest false, he imagined, that the native Force of Truth would at last break forth and shine bright, if supported only by the Strength of Argument, and attended to with a gentle and unprejudiced Mind; while, on the other hand, if such Debates were carried on with Violence and Tumults, as the most wicked are always the most obstinate, so the best and most Holy Religion, might be choaked with Superstition, as Corn is with Briars and Thorns; he therefore left Men wholly to their Liberty, that they might be free to believe as they should see Cause; only he made a solemn and severe Law against such as should so far degenerate from the Dignity of human Nature, as to think that our Souls died with our Bodies, or that the World was governed by Chance, without a wise over-
ruling

ruling Providence : For they all formerly believed that there was a State of Rewards and Punishments to the Good and Bad after this Life ; and they now look on those that think otherwise, as scarce fit to be counted Men, since they degrade so noble a Being as the Soul, and reckon it no better than a Beast's : Thus they are far from looking on such Men as fit for human Society, or to be Citizens of a well-ordered Commonwealth ; since a Man of such Principles must needs, as oft as he dares do it, despise all their Laws and Customs : For there is no doubt to be made, that a Man who is afraid of nothing but the Law, and apprehends nothing after Death, will not scruple to break through all the Laws of his Country, either by Fraud or Force, when by this means he may satisfy his Appetites. They never raise any that hold these Maxims, either to Honours or Offices, nor employ them in any publick Trust, but despise them, as Men of base and sordid Minds : Yet they do not punish them, because they lay this down as a Maxim, that a Man cannot make himself believe any thing he pleases ; nor do they drive any to dissemble their Thoughts by Threatnings, so that Men are not tempted to lie or disguise their Opinions ; which being a Sort of Fraud, is abhorred by the *Utopians* : They take Care indeed to prevent their disputing in Defence of these Opinions, especially before

before the common People: But they suffer, and even encourage them to dispute concerning them in private with their Priests, and other grave Men, being confident that they will be cured of those mad Opinions, by having reason laid before them. There are many among them that run far to the other Extream, tho' it is neither thought an ill nor unreasonable Opinion, and therefore is not at all discouraged. They think that the Souls of Beasts are immortal, tho' far inferior to the Dignity of the human Soul, and not capable of so great a Happiness. They are almost all of them very firmly persuaded, that good Men will be infinitely happy in another State; so that tho' they are compassionate to all that are Sick, yet they lament no Man's Death, except they see him loath to part with Life; for they look on this as a very ill Presage, as if the Soul, conscious to it self of Guilt, and quite hopeless, was afraid to leave the Body, from some secret Hints of approaching Misery. They think that such a Man's Appearance before God, cannot be acceptable to him, who being called on, does not go out chearfully, but is backward and unwilling, and is, as it were, dragged to it. They are struck with Horror, when they see any die in this Manner, and carry them out in Silence, and with Sorrow, and praying God that he would be merciful to the Errors of the departed Soul,

Soul, they lay the Body in the Ground: But when any die chearfully, and full of Hope, they do not mourn for them, but sing Hymns when they carry out their Bodies, and commending their Souls very earnestly to God: Their whole Behaviour is then rather grave than sad, they burn the Body, and set up a Pillar where the Pile was made, with an Inscription to the Honour of the Deceased. When they come from the Funeral, they discourse of his good Life, and worthy Actions, but speak of nothing oftner and with more Pleasure, than of his Serenity at the Hour of Death. They think such Respect paid to the Memory of good Men, is both the greatest Incitement to engage others to follow their Example, and the most acceptable Worship that can be offered them; for they believe that tho' by the Imperfection of human Sight, they are invisible to us, yet they are present among us, and hear those Discourses that pass concerning themselves. They believe it inconsistent with the Happiness of departed Souls, not to be at Liberty to be where they will: And do not imagine them capable of the Ingratitude of not desiring to see those Friends, with whom they lived on Earth in the strictest Bonds of Love and Kindness: Besides they are perswaded that good Men after Death have these Affections, and all other good Dispositions encreased rather than diminished, and therefore

therefore conclude that they are still among the Living, and observe, all they say or do. From hence they engage in all their Affairs, with the greater Confidence of Success, as trusting to their Protection; while this Opinion of the Presence of their Ancestors is a Restraint that prevents their engaging in ill Designs.

They despise and laugh at Auguries, and the other vain and superstitious Ways of Divination, so much observed among other Nations; but have great Reverence for such Miracles as cannot flow from any of the Powers of Nature, and look on them as Effects and Indications of the Presence of the Supream Being, of which they say many Instances have occurred among them; and that sometimes their publick Prayers, which upon great and dangerous Occasions they have solemnly put up to God, with assured Confidence of being heard, have been answered in a miraculous Manner.

They think the contemplating God in his Works, and the adoring him for them, is a very acceptable Piece of Worship to him.

There are many among them, that upon a Motive of Religion, neglect Learning, and apply themselves to no Sort of Study; nor do they
allow

allow themselves any Leisure-time, but are perpetually employed, believing that by the good Things that a Man does he secures to himself that Happiness that comes after Death. Some of these visit the Sick ; others mend High-ways, cleanse Ditches, repair Bridges, or dig Turf, Gravel, or Stones. Others fell and cleave Timber, and bring Wood, Corn and other Necessaries, on Carts into their Towns. Nor do these only serve the Publick, but they serve even private Men, more than the Slaves themselves do : For if there is any where a rough, hard, and fordid Piece of Work to be done, from which many are frightened by the Labour and Loathsomness of it, if not the Despair of accomplishing it, they chearfully, and of their own Accord, take that to their Share ; and by that Means, as they ease others very much, so they afflict themselves, and spend their whole Life in hard Labour : And yet they do not value themselves upon this, nor lessen other People's Credit, to raise their own ; but by their stooping to such servile Employments, they are so far from being despised, that they are so much the more esteemed by the whole Nation.

Of these there are two Sorts : Some live unmarried and chaste, and abstain from eating any Sort of Flesh ; and thus weaning themselves from all the Pleasures of the present Life, which
they

they account hurtful, they pursue, even by the hardest and painfullest Methods possible, that Blessedness which they hope for hereafter; and the nearer they approach to it, they are the more chearful and earnest in their Endeavours after it. Another Sort of them is less willing to put themselves to much Toil, and therefore prefer a married State to a single one; and as they do not deny themselves the Pleasure of it, so they think the begetting of Children is a Debt which they owe to human Nature, and to their Country: Nor do they avoid any Pleasure that does not hinder Labour; and therefore eat Flesh so much the more willingly, as they find that by this Means they are the more able to Work: The *Utopians* look upon these as the wiser Sect, but they esteem the others as the most Holy. They would indeed laugh at any Man, who from the Principles of Reason, would prefer an unmarried State to a Married, or a Life of Labour to an easy Life: But they reverence and admire such as do it from the Motives of Religion. There is nothing in which they are more cautious, than in giving their Opinion positively concerning any Sort of Religion. The Men that lead those severe Lives, are called in the Language of their Country *Brutheskas*, which answers to those we call *Religious Orders*.

Their

Their Priests are Men of eminent Piety, and therefore they are but few, for there are only thirteen in every Town, one for every Temple; but when they go to War, seven of these go out with their Forces, and seven others are chosen to supply their Room in their Absence; but these enter again upon their Employment when they return; and those who served in their Absence, attend upon the High-Priest, till Vacancies fall by Death; for there is one set over all the rest. They are chosen by the People as the other Magistrates are, by Suffrages given in secret, for preventing of Factions: and when they are chosen, they are consecrated by the College of Priests. The Care of all sacred Things, the Worship of God, and an Inspection into the Manners of the People, are committed to them. It is a Reproach to a Man to be sent for by any of them, or for them to speak to him in Secret, for that always gives some Suspicion: All that is incumbent on them, is only to exhort and admonish the People; for the Power of correcting and punishing ill Men, belongs wholly to the Prince, and to the other Magistrates: The severest thing that the Priest does, is the excluding those that are desperately wicked from joining in their Worship: There's not any Sort of Punishment more dreaded by them than this, for as it loads them with Infamy, so it fills them with

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152 Sir THOMAS MORE's

secret Horrors, such is their Reverence to their Religion; nor will their Bodies be long exempted from their Share of Trouble; for if they do not very quickly satisfy the Priests of the Truth of their Repentance, they are seized on by the Senate, and punished for their Impiety. The Education of Youth belongs to the Priests, yet they do not take so much Care of instructing them in Letters, as in forming their Minds and Manners aright; they use all possible Methods to infuse very early into the tender and flexible Minds of Children, such Opinions as are both good in themselves, and will be useful to their Country: For when deep Impressions of these Things are made at that Age, they follow Men through the whole Course of their Lives, and conduce much to preserve the Peace of the Government, which suffers by nothing more than by Vices that rise out of ill Opinions. The Wives of their Priests are the most extraordinary Women of the whole Country; sometimes the Women themselves are made Priests, though that falls out but seldom, nor are any but antient Widows chosen into that Order.

None of the Magistrates have greater Honour paid them, than is paid the Priests; and if they should happen to commit any Crime, they would not be questioned for it: Their Punishment is left

left to God, and to their own Consciences : For they do not think it lawful to lay Hands on any Man, how wicked soever he is, that has been in a peculiar manner dedicated to God ; nor do they find any great Inconvenience in this, both because they have so few Priests, and because these are chosen with much Caution, so that it must be a very unusual Thing to find one who merely out of Regard to his Virtue, and for his being esteemed a singularly good Man, was raised up to so great a Dignity, degenerate into Corruption and Vice: And if such a Thing should fall out, for Man is a changeable Creature ; yet there being few Priests, and these having no Authority, but what rises out of the Respect that is paid them, nothing of great Consequence to the Publick, can proceed from the Indemnity that the Priests enjoy.

They have indeed very few of them, lest greater Numbers sharing in the same Honour, might make the Dignity of that Order which they esteem so highly, to sink in its Reputation : They also think it difficult to find out many of such an exalted Pitch of Goodness, as to be equal to that Dignity which demands the Exercise of more than ordinary Virtues. Nor are the Priests in greater Veneration among them, than they are among their neighbouring Nations, as you

may imagine by that which I think gives Occasion for it.

When the *Utopians* engage in Battle, the Priests who accompany them to the War, apparelled in their sacred Vestments, kneel down during the Action, in a Place not far from the Field ; and lifting up their Hands to Heaven, pray, first for Peace, and then for Victory to their own Side, and particularly that it may be gained without the Effusion of much Blood on either Side ; and when the Victory turns to their Side, they run in among their own Men to restrain their Fury ; and if any of their Enemies see them, or call to them, they are preserved by that Means : And such as can come so near them as to touch their Garments, have not only their Lives, but their Fortunes secured to them : It is upon this Account that all the Nations round about consider them so much, and treat them with such Reverence, that they have been often no less able to preserve their own People from the Fury of their Enemies, than to save their Enemies from their Rage : For it has sometimes fallen out, that when their Armies have been in Disorder, and forced to fly, so that their Enemies were running upon the Slaughter and Spoil, the Priests by interposing, have separated them from one another, and stop'd the effusion of more Blood ; so that by
their

their Mediation, a Peace has been concluded on very reasonable Terms ; nor is there any Nation about them so fierce, cruel, or barbarous, as not to look upon their Persons as sacred and inviolable.

The first and the last Day of the Month, and of the Year, is a Festival : They measure their Months by the Course of the Moon ; and their Years by the Course of the Sun : The first Days are called in their Language the *Cynemernes*, and the last the *Trapemernes* ; which answers in our Language to the Festival that begins, or ends the Season.

They have magnificent Temples, that are not only nobly built, but extremely spacious ; which is the more necessary, as they have so few of them : They are a little dark within, which proceeds not from any Error in the Architecture, but is done with Design ; for their Priests think that too much Light dissipates the Thoughts, and that a more moderate Degree of it, both recollects the Mind, and raises Devotion. Though there are many different Forms of Religion among them, yet all these, how various soever, agree in the main Point, which is the worshipping the divine Essence ; and therefore there is nothing to be seen or heard in their Temples,

in which the several Persuasions among them may not agree ; for every Sect performs those Rites that are peculiar to it, in their private Houses, nor is there any Thing in the publick Worship, that contradicts the particular ways of those different Sects. There are no Images for God in their Temples, so that every one may represent him to his Thoughts, according to the Way of his Religion ; nor do they call this one God by any other Name, but that of *Mithras*, which is the common Name by which they all express the divine Essence, whatsoever otherwise they think it to be ; nor are there any Prayers among them, but such as every one of them may use without Prejudice to his own Opinion.

They meet in their Temples on the Evening of the Festival that concludes a Season : And not having yet broke their Fast, they thank God for their good Success during that Year or Month, which is then at an end : And the next Day, being that which begins the new Season, they meet early in their Temples, to pray for the happy Progress of all their Affairs during that Period, upon which they then enter. In the Festival which concludes the Period, before they go to the Temple, both Wives and Children fall on their Knees before their Husbands or Parents, and confess every Thing in which they have
either

either erred or failed in their Duty, and beg pardon for it : Thus all little Discontents in Families are removed, that they may offer up their Devotions with a pure and serene Mind ; for they hold it a great Impiety to enter upon them with disturbed Thoughts ; or with a Consciousness of their bearing Hatred or Anger in their Hearts to any Person whatsoever ; and think that they should become liable to severe Punishments, if they presumed to offer Sacrifices without cleansing their Hearts, and reconciling all their Differences. In the Temples, the two Sexes are separated, the Men go to the right Hand, and the Women to the left : And the Males and Females all place themselves before the Head, and Master or Mistress of that Family to which they belong ; so that those who have the Government of them at home, may see their Deportment in publick : And they intermingle them so, that the younger and the older may be set by one another ; for if the younger Sort were all set together, they would perhaps trifle away that Time too much, in which they ought to beget in themselves that religious Dread of the supreme Being, which is the greatest, and almost the only Incitement to Virtue.

They offer up no living Creature in Sacrifice, nor do they think it suitable to the Divine Being,

from whose Bounty it is that these Creatures have derived their Lives, to take Pleasure in their Deaths, or the offering up their Blood. They burn Incense, and other sweet Odours, and have a great Number of Wax Lights during their Worship; not out of any Imagination that such Oblations can add any Thing to the Divine Nature, which even Prayers cannot do; but as it is a harmless and pure way of worshipping God; so they think those sweet Savours and Lights, together with some other Ceremonies, by a secret and unaccountable Virtue, elevate Men's Souls, and inflame them with greater Energy and Chearfulness during the divine Worship.

All the People appear in the Temples in white Garments; but the Priest's Vestments are parti-coloured; and both the Work and Colours are wonderful: They are made of no rich Materials, for they are neither embroidered, nor set with precious Stones, but are composed of the Plumes of several Birds, laid together with so much Art, and so neatly, that the true Value of them is far beyond the costliest Materials. They say, that in the ordering and placing those Plumes, some dark Mysteries are represented, which pass down among their Priests in a secret Tradition concerning them; and that they are as Hieroglyphicks, putting them in Mind of the Blessings
that

that they have received from God, and of their Duties, both to him and to their Neighbours. As soon as the Priest appears in those Ornaments, they all fall prostrate on the Ground, with so much Reverence and so deep a Silence, that such as look on, cannot but be struck with it, as if it were the Effect of the Appearance of a Deity. After they have been for some Time in this Posture, they all stand up, upon a Sign given by the Priest, and sing Hymns to the Honour of God, some musical Instruments playing all the while. These are quite of another Form than those used among us : but, as many of them are much sweeter than ours, so others are made use of by us. Yet in one Thing they very much exceed us ; all their Musick, both vocal and instrumental, is adapted to imitate and express the Passions ; and is so happily suited to every Occasion, that whether the Subject of the Hymn be chearful, or formed to sooth or trouble the Mind, or to express Grief or Remorse ; the Musick takes the Impression of whatever is represented, affects and kindles the Passions, and works the sentiments deep into the Hearts of the Hearers. When this is done, both Priests and People offer up very solemn Prayers to God in a set Form of Words ; and these are so composed, that whatsoever is pronounced by the whole Assembly, may be likewise applied by every Man in particular.

to his own Condition ; in these they acknowledge God to be the Author and Governor of the World, and the Fountain of all the Good they receive ; and therefore offer up to him their Thanksgiving ; and in particular, bless him for his Goodness in ordering it so, that they are born under the happiest Government in the World, and are of a Religion which they hope is the truest of all others : But if they are mistaken, and if there is either a better Government, or a Religion more acceptable to God, they implore his Goodness to let them know it, vowing that they resolve to follow him whithersoever he leads them : But if their Government is the best, and their Religion the truest, then they pray that he may fortify them in it, and bring all the World, both to the same Rules of Life, and to the same Opinions concerning himself ; unless, according to the Unsearchableness of his Mind, he is pleased with a Variety of Religions. Then they pray that God may give them an easy Passage at last to himself ; not presuming to set Limits to him, how early or late it should be ; but if it may be wished for, without derogating from his Supreme Authority, they desire to be quickly delivered, and to be taken to himself, though by the most terrible Kind of Death, rather than to be detained long from seeing him, by the most prosperous Course of Life. When this Prayer is ended, they

they all fall down again upon the Ground, and after a little while they rise up ; go home to Dinner, and spend the rest of the Day in Diversion or military Exercises.

Thus have I described to you, as particularly as I could, the Constitution of that Commonwealth, which I do not only think the best in the World, but indeed the only *Common-wealth* that truly deserves that Name. In all other Places, it is visible, that while People talk of a *Common-wealth*, every Man only seeks his own *Wealth* ; but there, where no Man has any Property, all Men zealously pursue the good of the Publick : And indeed, it is no Wonder to see Men act so differently ; for in other Common-wealths, every Man knows, that unless he provides for himself, how flourishing soever the Common-wealth may be, he must die of Hunger ; so that he sees the Necessity of preferring his own Concerns to the Publick ; but in *Utopia*, where every Man has a Right to every Thing, they all know, that if Care is taken to keep the Publick Stores full, no private Man can want any Thing ; for among them there is no unequal Distribution, so that no Man is poor, none in Necessity ; and though no Man has any Thing, yet they are all rich ; for what can make a Man so rich, as to lead a serene and chearful Life, free from Anxieties ; neither

apprehending Want himself, nor vexed with the endless Complaints of his Wife? He is not afraid of the Misery of his Children, nor is he contriving how to raise a Portion for his Daughters, but is secure in this, that both he and his Wife, his Children and Grand-Children, to as many Generations as he can fancy, will all live, both plentifully and happily; since among them there is no less Care taken of those who were once engaged in Labour, but grow afterwards unable to follow it, than there is elsewhere of these that continue still employed. I would gladly hear any Man compare the Justice that is among them, with that of all other Nations; among whom, may I perish, if I see any Thing that looks either like Justice, or Equity: For what Justice is there in this, that a Nobleman, a Goldsmith, a Banker, or any other Man, that either does nothing at all, or at best is employed in Things that are of no Use to the Publick, should live in great Luxury, and Splendor, upon what is so ill acquired; and a mean Man, a Carter, a Smith, or a Ploughman, that works harder, even than the Beasts themselves, and is employed in Labours so necessary, that no Common-wealth could hold out a Year without them, can only earn so poor a Livelihood, and must lead so miserable a Life, that the Condition of the Beasts is much better than their's? For as the Beasts do not work so

constantly,

constantly, so they feed almost as well, and with more pleasure ; and have no Anxiety about what is to come, whilst these Men are depressed by a barren and fruitless Employment, and tormented with the Apprehensions of Want in their old Age ; since that which they get by their daily Labour, does but maintain them at present, and is consumed as fast as it comes in, there is no Overplus left, to lay up for old Age.

Is not that Government both unjust and ungrateful, that is so prodigal of its Favours, to those that are called Gentlemen, or Goldsmiths, or such others who are idle, or live either by Flattery, or by contriving the Arts of vain Pleasure ; and on the other Hand, takes no Care of those of a meaner Sort, such as Ploughmen, Colliers, and Smiths, without whom it could not subsist ? But after the Publick has reaped all the advantage of their Service, and they come to be oppressed with Age, Sicknes, and Want, all their Labours, and the good they have done is forgotten ; and all the Recompence given them, is, that they are left to die in great Misery : The richer Sort are often endeavouring to bring the Hire of Labourers lower, not only by their fraudulent Practices, but by the Laws which they procure to be made to that Effect : So that though it is a Thing most unjust in it self, to
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give such small Rewards to those who deserve so well of the Publick, yet they have given those Hardships the Name and Colour of Justice, by procuring Laws to be made for regulating them.

Therefore I must say, that as I hope for Mercy, I can have no other Notion of all the other Governments that I see or know, than that they are a Conspiracy of the rich, who on Pretence of managing the Publick, only pursue their private Ends, and devise all the Ways and Arts they can find out; first, that they may, without Danger, preserve all that they have so ill acquired, and then, that they may engage the poor to toil and labour for them, at as low Rates as possible, and oppress them as much as they please: And if they can but prevail to get these Contrivances established, by the show of publick Authority, which is considered as the Representative of the whole People, then they are accounted Laws: Yet these wicked Men after they have, by a most insatiable Covetousness, divided that among themselves, with which all the rest might have been well supplied, are far from that Happiness, that is enjoyed among the *Utopians*: For the Use as well as the Desire of Money being extinguished, much Anxiety and great Occasions of Mischief is cut off with it: And who does not see that the
Frauds,

Frauds, Thefts, Robberies, Quarrels, Tumults, Contentions, Seditions, Murders, Treacheries, and Witchcrafts, which are indeed rather punished than restrained by the Severities of Law, would all fall off, if Money were not any more valued by the World? Mens Fears, Sollicitudes, Cares, Labours, and Watchings, would all perish in the same Moment, with the Value of Money: Even Poverty it self, for the Relief of which Money seems most necessary, would fall. But, in Order to the apprehending this aright, take one Instance.

Consider any Year that has been so unfruitful that many Thousands have died of Hunger; and yet if at the end of that Year a Survey was made of the Granaries of all the rich Men that have hoarded up the Corn, it would be found that there was enough among them, to have prevented all that Consumption of Men that perished in Misery: And that if it had been distributed among them, none would have felt the terrible Effects of that Scarcity: So easy a Thing would it be to supply all the Necessities of Life, if that blessed Thing called *Money*, which is pretended to be invented for procuring them was not really the only Thing that obstructed their being procured!

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I do not doubt but rich Men are sensible of this, and that they well know how much a greater Happiness it is to want nothing necessary, than to abound in many Superfluities; and to be rescued out of so much Misery, than to abound with so much Wealth: And I cannot think but the Sense of every Man's Interest, added to the Authority of Christ's Commands, who as he was infinitely wise, knew what was best, and was not less good in discovering it to us, would have drawn all the World over to the Laws of the *Utopians*, if *Pride*, that Plague of human Nature, that Source of so much Misery, did not hinder it; for this Vice does not measure Happiness so much by its own Conveniencies, as by the Miseries of others; and would not be satisfied with being thought a *Goddeſs*, if none were left that were miserable, over whom she might insult. Pride thinks it's own Happiness shines the brighter, by comparing it with the Misfortunes of other Persons; that by displaying its own Wealth, they may feel their Poverty the more sensibly. This is that infernal Serpent that creeps into the Breasts of Mortals, and possesses them too much to be easily drawn out: And therefore I am glad that the *Utopians* have fallen upon this Form of Government, in which I wish that all the World could be so wise as to imitate them: For they have indeed laid down such a Scheme and Foundation

dation of Policy, that as Men live happily under it, so it is like to be of great Continuance: For they having rooted out of the Minds of their People, all the Seeds, both of Ambition and Faction, there is no Danger of any Commotions at Home; which alone has been the Ruin of many States, that seemed otherwise to be well secured; but as long as they live in Peace at Home, and are governed by such good Laws, the Envy of all their neighbouring Princes, who have often tho' in vain attempted their Ruin, will never be able to put their State into any Commotion or Disorder.

When *Raphael* had thus made an end of speaking, though many Things occurred to me, both concerning the Manners and Laws of that People, that seemed very absurd, as well in their Way of making War, as in their Notions of Religion, and divine Matters; together with several other Particulars, but chiefly what seemed the Foundation of all the rest, their living in common, without the Use of Money, by which all Nobility, Magnificence, Splendour, and Majesty, which, according to the common Opinion, are the true Ornaments of a Nation, would be quite taken away; yet since I perceived that *Raphael* was weary, and was not sure whether he could easily bear Contradiction, remembering
that

that he had taken Notice of some, who seemed to think they were bound in Honour to support the Credit of their own Wisdom, by finding out something to censure in all other Men's Inventions, besides their own; I only commended their Constitution, and the Account he had given of it in general; and so taking him by the Hand, carried him to Supper, and told him I would find out some other Time for examining this Subject more particularly, and for discoursing more copiously upon it; and indeed I shall be glad to embrace an Opportunity of doing it. In the mean while, though it must be confessed that he is both a very learned Man, and a Person who has obtained a great Knowledge of the World, I cannot perfectly agree to every Thing he has related; however, there are many things in the Commonwealth of *Utopia*, that I rather wish, than hope, to see followed in our Governments.

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